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In a certain place, not so long ago, they had a teacher whose moral conduct was, to say the least, rather objectionable. When policemen raided the houses of the Isneg in order to hunt up all children of school age, several Isneg parents bluntly told them that they would gladly send their sons, but with reference to their daughters, as long as that teacher remained in charge, never; and they were perfectly right. That man has since been dismissed from the service.

A few defects, which will be recorded in due time, occasionally mar the picture of Isneg family life; but on the whole, it must be said that the Isneg commonly live up to their comparatively high standards with regard to this most important unit of society. Nevertheless the whole life of the Isneg, from the cradle to the grave, is dominated by the fear of the spirits; superstition, magic and spirit worship are inextricably interwoven with their whole life. If a Caucasian or, to take an example from people born, living and dying in the same surroundings, a Negrito had to live under such a continual fear of the supernatural and to comply with such a large number of practices in order to propitiate higher beings or to elude their malevolent intentions, I think his life would be simply miserable. The Isneg, however, do not seem to mind, and although always on the lookout for disagreeable interventions from above, they live a life free of care and are never anxious about the future. They rarely concern themselves with what the next day might bring them, and live happy and content if to-day their immediate wants are provided for: to-morrow will take care of itself.

This seeming contradiction pervades their whole life. On the one hand, they have to take innumerable precautions for the future with regard to superior beings. On the other hand, they do not seem to care a jot for the days to come even with reference to such essential needs as food and raiment. The solution of this apparent puzzle seems to me to be found in the fact that the Isneg do conscientiously every day what they think they have to do and leave the rest to fate. With reference to the supernatural, if they take all possible means to propitiate the spirits, and disregard no taboos, and so on, they feel assured that nothing untoward will happen to them on the part of the spirits. With reference to daily sustenance and the rest, they feel no such assurance, as they know by practical experience that they cannot control the forces of nature, rain, storms, the growth of plants, etc. By strictly observing all injunctions of the shamans and all traditional rites and practices, they believe it possible to control the

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many details as possible, although I am far from claiming that my study about Isneg religion and morality has so far been exhaustive or that my knowledge of these subjects cannot be improved upon. A whole lifetime would scarcely be sufficient to disentagle all the intricate knots, the more so that, especially as regards religion, the Isneg are sometimes far from logical in their reasoning.

In religious instruction the *dorarákit* or shaman plays the dominant rôle, as it is she who conducts religious ceremonies, and it is she through whom the spirits and the souls of the dead are supposed to communicate with man. Now let us see in how far the shaman imparts formal instruction, and in how far young people have to learn by merely looking on.

The *dorarákit* directly teaches her pupils by explaining to them the meaning of the rites and ceremonies, at the time of some *sây-âm* or other sacrifice accompanied by *maxanito*, and almost exclusively on such occasions. Her pupils at the time are first of all the young *dorarákit*, who have been chosen and consecrated mostly when still in their infancy, and secondly all members of the younger generation who are willing to listen. Consequently this kind of teaching is done while the ceremonies in question are under way and it is illustrated by their performance. It is not the place here to enter into details about the ceremonies just referred to; it will suffice to say that the *sây-âm* is a kind of public sacrifice in which dogs and pigs are offered to the spirits, and that *maxanito* refers to the action of the shaman at the time she is supposed to be possessed either by a spirit or by the soul of a deceased person, who speaks through her mouth. In this the Isneg shaman differs from the Kankanay one; the latter is usually supposed merely to communicate with beings of the other world, to talk to them, while in the case of the Isneg the spirit is supposed to talk through the shaman. Besides, a Kankanay shaman plays a very secondary rôle: she is mostly of use only at the time of sickness, when she has altercations with the spirits who are supposed to cause the disease or when she goes around to look for the *ab-abîik* (Kankanay) or soul, which a sick person is supposed to have lost; while sacrifices, whether public or private, are presided over by men. Let this be enough for the time being.

I just stated that the Isneg shaman explains the meaning of religious rites and ceremonies to her puipls. The manner of conducting these ceremonies, however, is not formally taught: in this respect a young *dorarákit* is a mere looker-on. When the time comes for the

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869 latter to conduct a similar ceremony or to assist her elders at the same, the only aid she will get from some experienced shaman will be an occasional hint as to what she has to do. In general, however, she will already have learned these things on previous occasions, so that she simply imitates now what she has often seen before. The explanations given previously by the older shamans with reference to the meaning of these ceremonies will of course have helped her the better to impress everything upon her memory.

869 I have been told very positively that the prayers or formulas, which
• 782 are recited on certain occasions, especially in cases of sickness, are never the subject of any direct teaching on the part of the shaman.
788 It is true that the number of Isneg prayers is comparatively small, and that, in general, Isneg recitations, whether in prayer or song, are far from being stereotyped. Some of them, however, especially some formulas more or less in verse or rhyme, which are recited by the shamans while they extract the cause of sickness in the form of iron, herbs, etc., from the body of a sick person, are rather complicated, and as far as I know, of a certain stable and less variable nature.

869 Now how aspirant *dorarákit* are able to learn them without receiving formal instruction, I should say even often repeated instruction, is more or less of a puzzle to me, the more so that these formulas are rarely pronounced distinctly and that many of the terms have become obsolete and are actually meaningless to the natives. Nevertheless, I repeat it, it was told me most positively that they are not taught, that they are simply listened to and picked up. Perhaps what seems very indistinct to outsiders is much less so to the initiated, and probably the rhythm and rhyme help the younger shamans to learn these recitations by heart without too much difficulty. Besides, I know from personal experience that the same regular sequence of sentences or
[126] verses is rarely adhered to. Whenever I have tried to write down some of these formulas at the dictation of a shaman, my informant almost invariably inverted the order of the sentences at a second recitation; these women often made me quite nervous, as it was well nigh impossible to write down exactly what they had been reciting. Isneg shamans always talk very quickly when reciting from memory, so I had very often to ask them to repeat a certain part, after I had written down as correctly as possible one or more catch phrases of each verse or sentence; but their second recitation almost never coincided with the first one. Such a state of affairs, of course, makes the task of the recorder doubly difficult, although it may happen to

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at night and that the owners had allowed him to do so. He immediately set out for Kabugaw, firmly intent in claiming his daughter back, and he only desisted from his purpose after he had been convinced that the rumor was entirely unfounded. On the other hand another Baliwanan girl was allowed to follow a Kagayan into another village and to live maritally with him for a certain period of time, after which she came back home.

Go to another near-by settlement: some parents object to their daughters going to school for reasons given in the introduction of this paper, while others allow them not only to go to school but even to live at the house of the teacher.

Let us pass over to Talifugu. A girl becomes pregnant, and the case is dropped. The same man, a Kagayan, deflowers another girl with the same result, and he is left no peace until he marries her.

At Dagara: a girl has the reputation, which I understand to be deserved, of being of very loose morals; she is left all liberty by her parents; while the generality of the Dagara girls behave as decently as anywhere else.

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I twice assisted at a small Isneg sacrifice, once at Ampaw and once at Abbil. In the former place, everything went on as if it were the most serious and most important act that could be performed by an Isneg: all details were attended to with the utmost earnestness and accuracy; while at Abbil, the whole ceremony seemed rather to be considered as an irksome duty: it looked like a joke when compared with the Ampaw case. It must be conceded that the Abbil people were more or less ill at ease on account of my presence; but I was equally present at Ampaw, and in the latter place I was even sitting much nearer the shaman than at Abbil, nevertheless the shaman and her helpers never flinched.

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I have little chance to read books on anthropology, but I understand it has been stated in some of them that primitives think in common, that among primitives every community has something like one mind for all individuals; how exactly the books express it I do not know, but I am sure that my readers who know about it, understand what I mean. Now, I know nothing at all from personal experience about primitives living in other parts of the world, but with reference to our Mountain people, whether Negritos or Malays, Kankanay or Isneg, I dare say that anybody who would pass a few weeks among them, would not have to take the trouble any more to form an opinion on the subject or to try to frame some theory, the

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postponed for a considerable time. Others again say that *Kútaw* robs it of its garments and dons them himself, to the great dismay and shame of the poor *kadudúwá*, who from now on is obliged to wear either no clothes or at least only such as are not cared for any more by its companions at the other side of the grave. The latter informants usually add that *Kútaw* refuses to ferry this *kadudúwá* over the pond, unless it gives its brand-new clothes to him; some of them say that it may happen that *Kútaw* takes to himself not only the clothes, but also the whole *kadudúwá* (as a kind of servant). One more detail was given me by a Bayag informant: if the dead person has only one of his forearms tattooed (not both of them), *Kútaw* cuts off this tattooed limb and keeps it to himself.

To resume: some informants state that all *kadudúwá* are always ferried over the pond by *Kútaw*, but that those whose *inndt* wears no new clothes, remain like that at least for some time to come, or are left to their own devices as soon as they reach the other side, without being able to find their relatives, at least immediately, while those whose *inndt* wear new clothes without rent are either despoiled by *Kútaw* or kept back for at least a considerable time from the enjoyment that is their due. Other informants state that some *kadudúwá* are simply scorned by *Kútaw* and left on this side of the pond: either those whose *inndt* wear old clothes, or those whose new garments have not been torn. On the other hand, when asked what *kadudúwá* are living in the realm of the dead, even these last informants generally affirm that they all do.

A *labbáń* is a kind of lagoon or pool of stagnant water, of a type found in abundance all along the northern coast of Luzon, between Sanchez Mira and Aparri, and even farther east. At Nagbabalayan there is also a *labbáń*, which consists of a pool of water separated from the Apayaw river by a small elevation of land; at every large rise of the Apayaw river, however, it forms one with the latter. This Nagbabalayan *labbáń* is the regular abode of crocodiles, to whom the Nagbabalayan people offer gifts at every sacrifice. But the name *lablabbáń* belongs exclusively to the pond that separates our abode from that of the dead. Such a reduplication as occurs here usually hints at something similar to what the simple stem implies. Thus *lablabbáń* would mean a *labbáń* that is not an ordinary one, and, considering its place and use, no further proof is needed to convince everybody that it is a very peculiar pool indeed. The following mysterious fact adds to its differentiation from any other *labbáń*:

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766 inside its lower half, a certain amount of clothes being pushed between the sides of the jar and the *tandt* in order to keep the latter straight and to prevent it from falling forwards or backwards and from leaning to either side.

But these are exceptional cases and happen only to the very rich (Musimut, Nagbabalayan, etc.) or to persons that stand very high in the estimation of their people (Lettuakan, Bayag, etc.). At Musimut and so on, very rich people may be kept two days like that before they are finally interred. At Lettuakan, a few years ago, *Antón*, who does not seem to have been either rich or influential, was kept in a sitting posture for three days. At Bayag also, three days usually elapse before the jar is buried with its contents. I believe, however, that formerly such bodies would have been kept from burial for a much longer time. This opinion is based, not only on analogy with similar customs that obtain among other tribes, but also on information received in Apayaw with reference to the time that elapses between death and burial, all of which will be mentioned later on.

764 171 Among the Isneg there is no question of preservation of the body either by mummification or by the use of any other means. Abandonment of the coffined body under some large rock in the neighborhood of the settlement, which obtains among the Kankanay and the Bontok Igorot, burial in elaborate monuments, as is customary among the rich Kalinga, cremation, etc., are all unknown in Apayaw. The body is simply interred, as will be explained presently.

764 After the death of a person, one of his relatives (all of whom are called *matáydn*) goes to announce (*magba-ba-ndn*) the sad news to the absent members of his kindred. As long as the body remains unburied, friends and neighbors come and go, men and women showing in their own way their participation in the sorrow of the bereaved relatives. Women who go to the house of the deceased, usually take along with them some *anúlut* (a kind of herb) as a precaution, lest the *balańóbáń* of the person they go to mourn for be following them in the future. The *bási* that is abundantly distributed on such occasions, proves a very strong attraction to some of the men, and, in case the deceased was a man of means, the pigs that are slaughtered are also a powerful incentive and inevitably induce our Isneg to flock to the house of the dead (*makixánat* or *mepaxinnatáy*) and 824 751 764 participate in the ceremonies connected with mourning. No real sacrifices (*pildóp*, etc.), however, are offered, and no *maxoúito* is per- 782

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formed by any of the shamans. Indeed, why should the spirits be enticed to obsess the shaman at a time when everybody is bent on keeping them at a distance? Besides, the souls of the dead should be left where they are as long as the *inndt* is in the house, probably lest the *kadudwá* of the deceased be interfered with on its trip to the other world.

Women mourn and lament in a loud voice almost uninterruptedly, usually two or three at a time: when one group is tired, another one takes its place. Men rarely imitate them in this, especially after the first general outburst of grief, that takes place immedintely after death is over, but they *magbibisndg* (slap one another's thighs: the game previously described, CAC–P, 3: 123-26). According to the Isneg, playing *bisndg* is a man's way of showing his grief: a certain chastisement of the body is undoubtedly involved in the whole performance, and just as the near relatives sometimes cut themselves at the death of one of their loved ones in order to show the intensity of their sorrow, so also the men, relatives, neighbors and friends, slap one another's thighs, often until blood spurts out, in order to prove to the whole assembly that they also take part and are far from remaining insensible in the presence of death. That a certain amount of voluntary infliction of pain is at the root of this question, is corroborated by the fact that some women occasionally take part in the *bisndg*, the more so that no member of the weaker sex ever plays the rôle of agent (*maúná*), but merely receives the slaps (*magtán*) without rendering them. Expressions like the following may be heard frequently among the Isneg: "*Uráy magdáxa ya apélko ta xakkánnámagsáñit* (even though my thighs bleed, as I do not weep)". In both cases, namely in that of men and in that of women, the *bisndg* is resorted to more especially by those who do little or no weeping; people, whether men or women, who do a good deal of lamenting, rarely take part in *bisndg*.

It goes without saying that the spirits are wide awake at the death of an Isneg, and that the survivors are annoyed with their unwelcome presence at every turn. Among others the following deserve special mention:

Dupappá-, whose tastes are very peculiar; indeed, he it is who absorbs the decayed matter (*saxó*) that flows from the nose and mouth of the deceased.

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765 or some special one in particular, perhaps even the *balañóbāñ* of the deceased.

After that everybody goes home and the *tádag* or bier is thrown into the river to the mercy of the current.

At Bayag, a large pebble is brought up from the river and placed in the house on the site till recently occupied by the *innát*.

[782] Immediately after the burial of a person, a dog, or occasionally a pig, has to be killed, but no invocations, no offerings, no *maxanito* take place: this is the *attóñ*. The Isneg call it the share of the deceased; nevertheless the living (anybody except the inmates of the house, to whom it is taboo) are those who consume it. At the same time one or more coconut trees (one at Baliwanan, Dibagat, Magapta, etc.; two at Bayag, etc.; two or three at Bolo, etc.) are cut down: these also are called *attóñ* and considered as the share of the deceased; their fruits, however, may be consumed, if so desired, by the living, except the owners of the house.

For three consecutive nights, an old woman, who need not necessarily be a shamaness, has to go to the grave every morning and every evening. Once there, she builds a fire (*maxap-apúy*) over the tomb, and laments for some time. The Isneg believe that the spirit *Toxăyón* guards the tomb for the same number of nights and that, after the third one, he leaves it never to come back again.

Should another person die in the settlement within two nights after a funeral, this second one is said to be *meludûn*.

From now on it is the duty of the surviving relatives to look after the faithful observation of all taboos connected with the death of a person, and to conduct the mourning that is customary under the circumstances. Taboos and mourning always last until the day of the *obóbāt* or ceremony performed at the putting aside of the mourning apparel. The period of time that elapses between the funeral and the *obóbāt* varies from one month to one year, according to the wishes of the nearest relative of the deceased. From one to two months, however, is the usual period of mourning; but, if the deceased was a married person, the surviving husband or wife may postpone the *obóbāt* ceremony even to the seventh month after his death. A whole year of mourning is rather extraordinary.

And first the *lapát* or taboos.

The first duty that is incumbent on the surviving members of the household is to warn all strangers about the departure from this life of one of their people. Indeed, one of the principal taboos that

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head. In February 1929, a man from Aputan had come home from a distant town to find his wife dead and buried. One day, when I was visiting the place, a few days afterwards, I saw him come back from his work some time before noon, and walk toward the cemetery, which was situated at a little distance from the settlement. While on his way, he wept and lamented in a loud voice. After he had reached the tomb of his wife, I could still distinctly hear him lamenting and crying intermittently for about half an hour. The neighbors told me that this had been repeated every day since he came back home and that the same scene would probably be enacted in the same way for several days to come.

And so we reach the close of this most important period, namely the *obóbāt* ceremony which ends mourning once for all. Indeed after the *obóbāt* all taboos cease, *lapát* (tabooed) coconuts have been freed (*inúkas*), all signs of mourning are gone, and if some of the relatives are not yet prepared to forget the deceased, they merely resort to *magló* in order to continue to show their undying love.

During the *obóbāt*, pigs are usually offered in sacrifice, while the *maxaníto* is performed by the shamaness, who at the time is supposed to be obsessed by the spirit or *kadudúwā* of the deceased. The deceased, through her mouth, generally voices all his grievances against the living, whether they be present or absent, and insists on all his dues being rendered him. Nevertheless, if no pigs are killed and a dog is the only animal to be offered in sacrifice, no *maxaníto* takes place.

About the middle of the ceremony, after the killing of the dog, either before or after eating, the mourners proceed to change their apparel, they *magba-bát*. If the deceased was a married person, it is the duty of one of the male relatives, either of the husband or of the wife (no matter which of the two departed this life), to give new clothes and a string of beads to the surviving widow or widower. As soon as the said male relative (*mama-bát*) has handed the new clothes to the survivor, the latter leaves the group and goes into some corner of the house in order to change his or her apparel, which action is always accompanied by a fresh outburst of grief and loud lamentations on his or her part. After the brand-new garments have been donned, he or she again joins the company, and is adorned by the *mama-bát* in person with the string of beads he has brought for the purpose.

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is who finds a means to keep the wolf from the door. On occasions like these, it is clearly apparent how training and experience have rendered the Isneg girl fit for meeting almost any kind of emergency, while the customary indolence of the male makes him an easy prey to downheartedness, so much so that he becomes utterly unable to save himself and his family from the pangs of hunger.

If we come to consider the situation from the point of view of the Isneg, it is not to be wondered at that nowadays famines are of rather frequent occurrence in Apayaw. Indeed, foreign authorities have invaded the land: not understanding the position of the Isneg with reference to the tutelary spirits of the country, they have all but extirpated headhunting. What can be expected after this? Being denied their usual offerings, the spirits stop protecting the crops. It is true that the Isneg does not cease to propitiate them by all possible means, but the great sacrifice has been rendered almost impossible, and so the fields have become a prey to evil imps, while the protectors of the rice, the purveyors of the Isneg, have become either powerless or indifferent.

Nevertheless, under ordinary circumstances, the average Isneg raises enough rice to last him and his family for a year. He may not be able to store it up for future consumption, but what he has usually keeps him alive from one harvest to the next, and besides almost always allows him to offer an occasional sacrifice to the spirits and to invite his relatives and neighbors to the ceremony. Such is the normal state of affairs with the great majority of the people.

Now in almost every agglomeration one will find at least one man who is styled "rich" (*ba-nán*), a man who raises rice in abundance (*aragammáy*) and consequently is able to offer one or more solemn sacrifices every year and to provide food to the inhabitants of several villages for days at a time. However, these so-called rich people do not fare any better than the average citizen, as their surplus is easily consumed at their *sǎy-ám* or solemn sacrifices.

On the other hand, there are always a few who may be called poor (*nakimrút*): their rice, if they raise any at all, never lasts them the whole year round, and, in the meanwhile, they have to content themselves with Indian corn, yams, taro and the rest; but only in times of famine, are they obliged to feed on coconut flowers and other outlandish foods. Others again seem never to be able to make both ends meet: these are the *síbud*; their rice, which should be sufficient for ordinary persons, is usually gone almost before they are aware of it,

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and, in any case, it is much too easily consumed to allow them any degree of comfort.

Several reasons may be assigned for the exceptional poverty of these people. The spirit *Laúdúsān* is very often the culprit. If it happens through his machinations that people are brought to the verge of starvation, the latter are said to be *malaúdúsān*. Sometimes, too, a want of civic spirit that has been observed in a certain person, may induce other people to pray the spirits to have his plants consumed by animals, and consequently to cause him to become poor. In such a case, the enemies of this unworthy citizen are said to *maglábuy*. Other people are simply *nakúrmáú*, they are unlucky: they cannot raise anything on their fields, and the result is wretchedness and want of food.

It may also happen that some people are unable to complete any kind of work in their rice fields: they are *nadannág*. Whatever they try to accomplish, whether planting or weeding, whether clearing a field or fencing it, they can never bring it to a finish. This, of course, almost inevitably leads to poverty and ultimately ends in the lack of the necessary livelihood. Nevertheless there is an easy remedy to this sad situation: the only thing to be done is to prepare *inapúxān* (betel for chewing), and to offer it to the spirit in charge by laying it down somewhere within his reach, at the same time reciting the following prayer, which was given me by *Púlog* from Dangla (O dialect, Main branch):[2]

Iápugko iāw aníto ta dinā- pagdandannaxán (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, spirit, so that you do not make me lazy).[3]

A rather remote, but very real cause of destitution, is a person's habit of being late (*nekábut*) whenever some work has to be done. In such a case the only means for him to escape being numbered sooner or later among the needy is to shake off his inbred torpor and to imitate his more diligent companions.

In this connection I should be allowed to mention the lines of the hand, as the art of palmistry is far from being unknown among the Isneg, and a person who is *rappád*, which means that one of the lines

[2] The way to prepare *inapúxān* will soon be explained at length. For explanation of Isneg dialects and branches, see M. Vanoverbergh, Isneg Life Cycle, II, Marriage, Death, and Burial, Publ. Cath. Anthrop. Conf., 1938, v. 3, no. 3, pp. 261-64.

[3] Lest I be prevented from finishing my work. This is said only of work in the rice fields: clearing land, planting rice, etc.

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it is made of burnt shells[9] and usually kept in a small calabash (*busiŋán* or *tabáyad*).[10] The betel (*xawád*) may be the same as that used by man (any of several varieties) or it may consist in the very small leaves (*dazapá*) that are absolutely of no use to human beings.

In order to become a proficient farmer it is necessary to have at least a fair knowledge of what the Isneg call the *taximmatón* or *taxemmatón*, the "signs". Here are a few of them:

The *yaŋyáŋ*, which is supposed to be a small insect: it announces the coming of the dry season, usually some time in March. No Isneg can claim ever to have set eyes upon it, as it is completely invisible: it is known only from its voice, which is very sweet.

The *sibulbúg*, a kind of large bird: its cry announces the arrival of the rainy season, usually some time in November.

The first appearance of the *buŋílon* or rainbow, which is one of the multitudinous spirits known by the Isneg: it proves that the rainy season has set in.

The *ariwánat* or Milky Way: if it becomes visible after a prolonged period of rain, it forecasts fair weather for several days to come.

The *bíbig*, which is a kind of bird of average size with grey plumage: it foreshadows a period of very heavy rainfall.

Other *taximmatón* that indicate the time at which some particular kind of work is to be performed, will be mentioned in due time.

As it is exceedingly important for the progress and the final success of any kind of business that all necessary rules be observed, that no taboos be infringed, and that nothing be done that might go counter to the will of the spirits, indicated in various ways, I shall now give a few hints to the farmer with reference to work in the field in general. At the same time, some of these hints may be of use to an Isneg who wants to embark on some enterprise that has nothing to do with farming or gardening.

First of all, the Isneg should be convinced that none of his exertions will be of any benefit to him, if they go on without the blessing and coöperation of the spirits. Therefore, whenever possible, he must recite the following prayer, or a similar one, in the morning, before going to work:

[9] *Dazíkan*, *azodóŋ*, etc., different kinds of fresh-water gastropods, all of them having a long tapering spire. The *azodóŋ* is larger than the *dazíkan*.

[10] The *tabáyad* is a small white calabash with a very narrow neck, although less narrow than that of the *taŋtáŋ*, which is the kind of calabash used by the Isneg when they prepare *inapázan* in honor of the *Pílay*-spirits, at harvesting time.

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Umáńnakami iddaggán kiyá agwiwiliyán (Come to wait for us where we go to work).[11]

The text of this prayer was furnished by *Yadán* from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch).

Very often the spirits give the Isneg warning not to work on a certain day, lest he incur their anger and his work be of no avail or the result of it be destroyed or rendered void. He should heed them and keep a holiday (*magúlin*) whenever it is intimated to him. Here follow some of these warnings:

When you hear the voice of one of the following birds: the *buwákaw*, the *bakákaw*, the *bissaxáw*,[12] or the *púro*,[13] for the first time, you must stay at home for one whole day without going out to work. Should you be on your way in the morning, do not proceed, but come back home, and remain there for the rest of the day. Should you hear it in the evening, stay at home the next day. If you happen to hear it again later on, it does not signify anything.

When you hear for the first time the lowing (*úxa*) of a deer (*ugtá*), whether in the evening or at night or early in the morning, do not go to work in the field the next day, whether you be man or woman, because, if you do, the deer will inevitably consume all your plants (*múla*). In some districts, however, this is observed only by men at the time of clearing the ground for a prospective rice field, which is exclusively a man's job.

In case of hail (*ulalázo*), which the Isneg consider as the substance of the rain (*baggát udán*), the following day should be observed as a holiday. The same obtains during the dry season, when there is a shower of heavy rain (*arnáb*), so that rivers and brooks swell considerably, or when the streams become muddy and swollen (*balanbán*),[14] a sure sign that it rained hard somewhere upstream.

When you go to your work in the morning and you meet an omen bird or *labág*[15] that *magsúńit*, turn back (*maxullí*) immediately lest you meet danger on the way. The *magsúńit*-flying is more or less

[11] Literally: Where we go and from where we come back on the same day.

[12] So called from its cry. It is smaller than the *bakákaw* and is usually heard early in the evening.

[13] So called from its cry. It lives in the bushes and may be heard either in the morning or in the evening.

[14] Not to be confounded with *balańbáń*, which is the name of the temporary fence built around the house of a deceased person.

[15] A small bird with red plumage, black at the throat.

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knees; and finally there are the *páñol*, who are expressly believed to have been punished by *Pílăy*, not for having trespassed on somebody else's property by touching palay which was not their own, but for havine done something of which he does not approve: the *páñol* are unable to walk or almost so on account of their legs being swollen at the knees.

Whenever an Isneg prepares rice pudding or sweets made from *díkat*-rice, he never fails to give a share to the *Pílăy* who resides in the shelf over the hearth: usually a very small portion is sufficient. Should a shaman do the cooking and at the same time pronounce the following words:

"*Batbattuxám ni N.*" (Satiate N.), *Pílăy* will throw things (pebbles, etc.) at the boy or girl in question as soon as the sweets are being cut into pieces, and this will prove a blessing to the child, as, with *Pílăy's* help, it will be favored with an abundance of palay at the next harvest.

One of *Pílăy*'s assistants is the *agammáy, ag-agammáy* or *ugammáy*, a kind of mantis, which usually lives in rice fields, where it helps *Pílăy* increase the palay. These mantes thrive in full security as no Isneg would dare kill such valuable insects.

Here follow a few formulas of prayers that may profitably be addressed to the *Pílăy* at any time, provided they be accompanied with the offering of sweets, that are usually made from *díkat*-rice with the addition of sugar, coconut meat, etc.:

Ne uwámo pílăy séno batbattuxánnaami péyań (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you be always satiating us).

Ne uwámo pílăy ta dímo pagtaitán de balbalásań (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you do not make the girls sick).

Ne uwámo pílăy ta tuplámmo ka ammáy dăyá ómănmi (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you fill our rice fields with rice).

Ne uwámo pílăy ta pannowámmo peyapéyań dăyá álańmi (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you always fill our granaries).

Ne uwámo pílăy dínaami pagtaitán (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you do not make us sick).

Ne uwámo pílăy aduwámmo ya ammáymi ya ómăn se ya álańmi (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you increase our rice on our rice fields and in our granaries).

Ne uwámo pílăy dímo balbalsiánan dăyá tóláy no umáń kiyá síxăy (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you do not make the persons sick when they come to the hut [in the field]).

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Ne uwámo pílăy dímo as-assăyán dăyá ammáy dăyá isagaddán[19] (Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you do not lessen the rice of the people).

Ne uwámo ílăy ta batbatturánnă- (Here, this is yours, Ilay, so that you be satiating me).

The text of these formulas was given me by men from Dangla (O dialect, Main branch), the last one by *Lampá*, the others by *Púlog*.

Whatever I have said of the *Pílăy* so far applies to the majority of Apayaw villages. Nevertheless in a few agglomerations, the *Pílăy*, instead of being loved and invoked with religious awe, are loathed and execrated by the inhabitants, who do everything in their power to drive them away. This seeming anomaly may be easily accounted for in the following way. It has been said in a preceding paragraph that some *Pílăy* steal rice in order to increase the harvest of their devotees; consequently there must be somebody somewhere whom they are in the habit of robbing, and the victims can do nothing else, of course, but resent it tremendously. Therefore we find Isneg who use this or a similar ceremony in order to make the *Pílăy* decamp: they go to the bushes, near some tree, and, holding a receptacle for lime (*agapúzān*) in one hand, they recite the following prayer. My informant, *Dagámi*, a Bayag woman (O dialect), gave it this title:

Makpídut Pílăy (To extract Pilay[20])

[19] *Púlog*, my informant, gave "people, men" as the meaning of *isagaddán*. According to most of my informants, *isagaddán* (never pronounced *isazaddán*) means: members of the Christian tribes, especially the Kagayan and the Iloko; while *ibaññán* means: natives, Isneg. In prayers, however, *isagaddán* mostly stands for "the people who offer a sacrifice, who pray, who seek protection from the spirits". Actually these terms are rarely or never used in ordinary conversation. Now, taking everything into consideration, I cannot help believing that originally the term *isagaddán* stood for something like "the faithful, those who pray, those who offer a sacrifice, the devout, the initiated, etc.", while *ibaññán* meant "the outsiders, those who are invited to a sacrifice, the uninitiated, etc.", and that later on the term *isagaddán* came to be applied to those tribes (Kagayan, Iloko) who were recognized by the Isneg as possessing a culture (perhaps) and a power (certainly) superior to their own, and the term *ibaññán* to themselves. With the advent of Christianity, these terms would then have become obsolete in ordinary speech, and the terms Ibanag (Christians) and Isneg would have taken their place. Even now the term Ibanag for "Christian" is becoming more and more obsolete: to the Isneg of the younger generation Ibanag means Kagayan, and the other Christian tribes are known by their own tribal name.

[20] *Pídut* usually means "extracting the sickness from someone's body". In Iloko *pídut* means "picking up".

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Umarăy-áyka[21] *iddí áyo wennó tańtáń ta pumánawkańin; no atán din mańikkám a iddí magálitka ma-dín; káńka*[22] *tumáliyin kiyá- ńa nagganăyánmo* (Crawl on this tree or in this small calabash[23] so that you go away now; if somebody takes hold of[24] this you should move;[25] do not come back any more to me from whom you came).

Besides the *Pílăy* and some other spirits, which will be accounted for in due time, there are three more protectors of the rice fields in general, namely: *Maxammám*, who helps to guard the *kómăn*, *A-néb* and *Parrág*. The last usually resides in the rice field, but he follows the Isneg into his hut (in the field) whenever it rains, and, if his protection is duly acknowledged, he never fails to lend a helping hand to the reapers, so that their exertions may be crowned with success. *A-néb* is a spirit who lives at the edge of the rice field; his influence depends on the attention that is paid to him by the owner of the field in question.

Pokól from Bayag (O dialect) furnished me with the following prayer addressed to the spirits who reside in the *kómăn*. While it is recited, rice should be thrown into the field:

Ne ma- maggiyán ki lusá- ta ma-mágăn (Here then, the one who resides in the soil, so that it become good).

Not all spirits, however, are well intentioned; a good many of them are malevolent imps who, if left unmolested, bring nothing but harm to the rice fields in which they have taken their abode.

Again I am indebted to *Dagámi* from Bayag for the text of a kind of exorcism used to drive away evil spirits from the *kómăn*. She prefaced it:

Maggiyán ka ómăn (Those who reside in the rice field).

Daxăyó maggiyán iyá ómăn ńa aníto maglińádkăyo (You, spirits who reside in the rice field, hide).

Up till now I have only given a few general hints to the Isneg farmer in order to help him in the raising of a good crop of rice. From now on I shall explain in detail how he has to proceed, beginning

[21] The initial U is scarcely audible.

[22] Shortened for *bakkáńka*.

[23] Used for storing lime.

[24] In ordinary speech *mańikkám* means "to get the *ikkám*", the amount of rice harvested in one day; here its meaning is much less restricted.

[25] Towards him, leaving me.

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the latter being usually the most plentiful, over a small space called *tálon*. This *tálon* is generally not much larger than one square yard, and so the first day's work is finished within a comparatively short time.

Besides the observances that are usual for all kinds of work, and which have been mentioned previously, here are a few practices that are peculiar to the *mańumá* (clearing), which it is good for the Isneg to heed. And so, before beginning to cut anything, he should perform the ceremony called *sapsapó*. This consists in strewing a certain amount of ashes, brought along for this purpose, first to the left, then to the right, and finally behind his back, in order to avoid, if not the approach, at least the bites of mosquitoes for the entire duration of the *mańumá*. Besides, if he is a careful man, he will have provided himself with one or more of the following: *alimbódo, anagláw, talésăy*. The *alimbódo* is a kind of herb that keeps you from any kind of harm, from anything that might hurt you, provided it be placed at the spot where you begin your work. The *anagláw* is a low herb with comparatively long leaves, that grows all over the district, and is put down at the same place as the preceding, for the benefit of the worker and his *kómăn*. The *talésăy* also is a small herb, and serves the same purpose as the *anagláw*, but it is found only in forested areas. At the same time the following prayer may be recited. The text was given me by *Yadán* from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch).

Dinakami paipalagmán kiyá sípăt năyá inammăyán (Do not disobey us at the clearing of the rice field).

Now pronounce the word *óka* or *póka*, and begin attacking the bushes. This word should be pronounced every day before the first stroke of the hatchet, until the whole field is cleared. Its pronunciation will help you to go up the slope in a lively way and to finish the work quickly. Should somebody come along and pronounce the same word, while you are busy cutting the bushes, its pronunciation will have the same effect, making the work easy for you.

The next day, that is the day after the *tálon* has been cleared, the Isneg *xumowáń*, which means that he stays at home and does nothing: he makes it a holiday (*ńílin*). Woe to him if he infringes this taboo. What would befall him, nobody really knows, as it has never happened yet that this holiday was not kept: no Isneg willfully disobeys any of the customs of his people, and this special taboo is known by everybody.

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burning of a heap of any kind of rubbish, whether in the field or in the house yard.

2. PLANTING RICE AND OTHER ACTIVITIES IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING

The Isneg plant their rice in the months of May and June. But before that they have to prepare the seeds (*maxaggí-*), which is usually done at home by the women, and is a quite elaborate process, as will be seen anon.

The seeds (*aggí-*: a general name for seeds of rice, Indian corn, beans, peas, and the like) are simply the rice kernels shelled off from the ears. A mat (*abá-*), mostly an old one, is spread over the floor for the purpose; a few bundles of rice, the number varying with the amount of rice seeds that are needed, are brought into it from the granary; and these are shelled by treading on them and pressing them under the feet, until all the kernels are separated from the straw (*agkuláw*). The mat in question is called the *agaggikán*.

To make the matter more complicated, a number of things have to be observed, on which depends the success of the whole business. Now let us see in detail what has to be done lest the crop prove a failure.

After a small amount of seeds has been made ready, these are placed in a basket (*la-bá*), and all further progress of the work is stopped until they have been blessed. The woman who shells this first rice and performs the blessing ceremony, is ordinarily of mature age, although not necessarily a shaman, and is called *mañodál*. The seeds having been gathered in the *la-bá*, this woman *maglubí*, which means that she mixes with them a whole assortment of objects, while reciting at the same time an appropriate prayer, for instance, one of those given above and addressed to *Pílay*. The following are the ingredients that are absolutely necessary:

Inapúxan, described before;
A piece of *landíg* or husk of a ripe betel nut;
One or more of the following:

Añlubí: A small herb with elongated brown flowers, that grows in the forest. In Bayag they use the *lubí*, a small herb with diminutive red flowers, that grows almost anywhere;

A section of *banatá* cut into pieces. The *banatá* is a tall herb, about two feet high, with large round leaves and fruits resembling those of the betel pepper; it grows all over the district;

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A part of the fruit and leaf of the lemon;

A few seeds of *laññá* or sesame: these seeds have a peculiar aptitude for "teaching" the rice how to grow vigorously;

A seed of *oldiyátan*, in order to guard the spirit of the rice, lest it leave the rice and the ears become empty. The *oldiyátan* is a forest tree with a thorny stem and round seeds that are used for toys;

A piece of zedoary or rhizome of *kannig* (Curcuma zedoaria [Berg.] Rosc.), which grows wild;

A piece of galangale or rhizome of *disôl* (Kaempferia galanga, L.), cut into small pieces. This plant is often cultivated, as old women use it for perfume;

Some pudding made from *madíliya*-rice, mentioned before.

All these are amulets (*tánib*) that insure the nice growth of the palay.

The seeds of this *la-bá* are now kept apart; and they will be planted in the field before any other ones.

Then the work of shelling goes on and, whenever there is a sufficient amount of *aggí-*, it is transferred to a bamboo tube, called *agaggikán* like the old mat itself. The term *agaggikán* consists of the stem *aggí-* and the locative combination *ag . . . ān*: when referring to the mat, it means "the place where the woman *maxaggí-* or shells rice"; when applied to the bamboo tube, it means "the place of the *aggí-*". In some localities, instead of using a bamboo tube, the Isneg wrap the seeds in the leaves of the *asipúlo* or *sipúlo*: a forest tree with very large round leaves; its bark is sometimes used for chewing with the betel nut.

When the time of planting (*tognó*) draws near, the Isneg puts the finishing touch to the cleaning of his *kómān*. Some of the plants that had been cut during the *añumá* or clearing, have sprung up again (*rumsí-*), after the field was burnt. And so the man takes his hatchet and the woman her *paló-* (hoe), which will be described presently, and proceed to the field in order to clean everything thoroughly before the planting is begun: this final preparation is called *magpatari-sí-* (*tarí-sí-* means: young shoot of plants in general).

For the planting or *tognó* (a term used for rice and Indian corn, not for beans, etc.), which is the exclusive work of the women, the latter need a special implement, namely a dibble.

Here I shall give the description of the aforementioned *paló-* (hoe) and of the two kinds of dibble used for planting rice, the *saguwá-* and the *xádañ*.

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412 portion. The blade consists in a thin piece of iron, about two inches broad over its whole length, sharp at one end, and provided at the opposite end with a hollow socket that encloses the end of the handle. The handle is made of any kind of wood. The *saguwá-* is used for planting (*magtognó, tognowán*) rice and Indian corn.

The *xádaṅ* is another kind of dibble which consists merely of a straight stick of hard wood, about one yard long and pointed at one end. It is used, like the *saguwá-*, for planting rice and Indian corn.

243 When the Isneg woman goes planting, she also takes along a recep-
[415] tacle for seeds, called *tupáṅ*, which is just an ordinary *dúyog* or coconut shell. She ties it somewhere at her waist in such a way as to be easily reached with the left hand. The *tupáṅ* is used for holding seeds of rice or Indian corn.

The *taximmatón* or sign for the *agtotognó* (time of planting) is the appearance of the *biyóṅ* or pods of the *tablâṅ* or coral tree, which has been mentioned formerly under the same circumstances. As soon as the coral tree is covered with fruits the Isneg woman understands that it is time for her to confide the *aggi-* (seeds) of rice to the soil.

Planting is done like this: the woman holds the dibble (*saguwá-* or *xádaṅ*) in her right hand and bores a hole (*magtuná-*) in the ground; at the same time she gets a few seeds (usually three) from the *tupáṅ*-cup and drops them into the hole, with her left hand; then she covers the hole and fills it up with her right foot. The whole work is done standing, and if any kind of stooping is necessary, it is very slight, so that an experienced planter can finish a large plot in a comparatively short time. The holes are usually bored in such a way as to form more or less parallel rows (*tarintén*), which are rarely straight: the only aim of the woman is to render subsequent work in the field easy for herself and safe for the plants. The distance between the plants is mostly about one foot (*taṅadapán*): if the planter is still a novice, she measures the distance with one of her feet, while experienced planters scorn to do so.

243 As soon as the *agtotognó* or time of planting has come, the Isneg
781 merely waits for a favorable opportunity to begin the work. In some places, at Bayag for instance, the man or the woman goes to the field on the day that precedes the *alópat* (which will be described presently) in order to perform the *agpaâyab*, which has been mentioned before in connection with the *si-dúg* (burning). Once there, a few grains of rice are thrown into the field, and one of the following prayers is recited:

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Ne ma- úlag ta umad-adăyyóa[27] (Here then, rat, so that you be going away).

Ne ma- ómăn ta magla-la-nás-a (Here then, rice field, so that you be [planted] quickly).

These texts were given me by *Pokól*, a Bayag man (O dialect), who claimed that the second prayer was regularly used by his father.

Both these prayers may also be used by those who *magpaďyab* immediately after the burning of the field.

On the first day of the regular planting (at Bayag, the day after the *agpaďyab*), the woman *maxalópat* (*magalompapát* at Bayag): some time in the afternoon, she goes to the field and plants about one square yard (in some places only two or three *tognó* or holes); after which she goes home and does no more work that day. But before she starts on that business, she has to offer *inapúxăn* (betel for chewing) to a few spirits that are either favorable or bent on mischief more especially at the *agtotognó*: while doing so she recites a prayer appropriate to the occasion.[28] The spirit that always heads the list is *Róyo*. After him are invoked or propitiated one or more of the following: *Ikkúl, Tukká, Xusíń, Do-ráw*. The last is begged not to follow the planter, lest no palay be harvested that year.

Next to the first hole she bores in the ground, a zealous Isneg woman places one or both of the following amulets:

One or more leaves of the *talalítaw* vine (Hoya sp., or very near), a very sturdy asclepiadaceous plant with thick leaves often used for decorating purposes. Its leaves being placed next to the first plant cause the leaves of the palay to be green and full of life;

A part of the *sapitán*-herb, a cultivated plant about two feet high, with leaves resembling those of cogon-grass.

The following prayer may be recited when the first seeds, whether of rice or, more especially, of Indian corn, are confided to the soil. My informant, *Dagámi*, a Bayag woman (O dialect), entitled it:

Maktuná- (To start planting [corn, rice])

Imúlaka ta maktubotúboa magbúńaa magbăybăyágka; daăyó maggiyán kiyá al-alawagán ta áwánnu pagan-anítăn ya múlao; umadăyyóăyo[29] *a maggiyán kiya adanní năyá múlami; dídaxami pagda-*

[27] The initial u is scarcely audible.

[28] These prayers may be found scattered all over this treatise: any prayer that accompanies the offering of *inapúxăn* will do, only the name of the spirit has to be changed in order to fit in.

[29] Cf. footnote 27 supra.

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243 722 *gaúán daàyó maggiyán ki sirát* (I plant you so that you shoot up, you bear fruit, you be lasting long; you who reside on the earth, so that you have no reason to destroy [20] my plants; go away, you who reside near our plants; do not give us a fever, you who reside in the bushes).

243 784 In the evening of the day of the *agalópat*, the woman, owner of the field, *magsima*, which means that she is not allowed to give away anything from the house, not even a leaf of tobacco, and that she may not permit anybody to enter the house. The next morning, however, these prohibitions cease, but at the same time this day has to be kept as a holiday (*úilin*). The real work of planting begins only on the third day, after which planting is done unremittingly until the end.

If the planter is accompanied by children, these should be warned not to shout in or about the field on account of the spirit *Paranándy*, who has taken his abode at the outskirts of the *kóman* ever since the burning of the field, and who stays there until the *tognó* is finished.

243 462 776 While planting is going on or, at the latest, immediately after it is finished, the Isneg cut out again the young shoots of bamboo grass that have sprung up in the meanwhile: this plant has a very tough resistance and is subdued by the farmer only after many exertions. To cut out isolated shoots of *bassáw* or bamboo grass, is *magsílil*; if they grow in clusters, to cut them out is *magtappíl*, and this is much more thorough than *magsílil*, as the roots are taken out as well as the rest. Both men and women perform this job, the first using their *aliwá* or hatchet, the latter their *paló-* or hoe.

At the time of planting one must especially beware of an evil spirit called *Bibirítan*, who roams around to kill people during the *agtotognó*. About the same time also reigns *Bakákaw* (which is also the name of a bird mentioned before), a spirit who is always carrying a heavy load of *agkukiw* or rice straw (from which rice has been shelled).

Later on, when the paddy has been sprouting all over the field, the woman goes to see if there are any voids in the rows, and if she sees that shoots are lacking here and there, she goes home and prepares for a communication with the spirits (*mazanito*). If she is a shaman, she does it by herself; if not, she calls a *dorarókit* (shaman) for the purpose. After this she goes to the field and fills up the gaps: this is called *magtagnáp*.

243 In the meanwhile the men also are busy, and between the *si-dág*

[20] Literally: to cut off, to rub off.

1 [i.e., first planting — Analyst]

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243 yard, and this work is mostly done before building the fence. This *alasiyáń* serves several very useful purposes: it allows the builder of the fence a clear space for his work and the occasional passerby an easy passage; it prevents the vines from overgrowing the fence and ultimately bringing about its downfall, not exactly on account of their weight, but by causing it to rot through an excess of moisture; and finally it serves for a scarecrow to wild animals, because, when they emerge from the bushes, this clear path barred by a fence of canes always looks suspicious to them.

243 343 And now as to the *sízăy*-hut, without which no rice field is complete. The *sízăy* is a hut, either big or small, raised on posts, but not as high above the ground as an ordinary house, and made of light materials, as bamboo, canes of bamboo grass, rattan, cogon-grass, leaves, stems of young bamboo grass, palm leaves, etc. The posts are often nothing but stems of the *lańpá*-palm (Livistona rotundifolia, Mart.). The only distinctive features of the *sízăy* are: that it is built in a rice field and that it is square in shape (*magbakál*). If length and breadth were not equal, the Isneg believe that everything would go wrong with the crop.

Here the farmer and his family find shelter from sun and rain. Here they often take their midday meal for weeks at a time, even sometimes for a whole month or more, according to the work that has to be done. Here on certain occasions, for instance when guarding the ripening crop or when lying in wait for wild boars and so on, they pass the night (*magtáw*).[92] Later on the *sízăy* will be the starting point of the reapers. Here palay will first be stored up, etc. I shall mention this hut again when I describe the harvest. Here I shall only remind you of a few observances that have to be attended to when occupying a *sízăy*.

243 782 Whenever you move to a new *sízăy*-hut, the first time you go to occupy it, you must offer *inapúzăn* (betel for chewing) and *aludákid* to the *Kapónăn*-spirits. The *aludákid* consists of a narrow strip (about half an inch) of coconut meat, cut out around the edge of a nut that has been divided into halves, and retaining its full thickness.

[92] This term *magtáw*, which usually means "to pass the night in the *sízăy*", also means "to die (under certain circumstances)": if it happens that, leaving your house in the village where you are actually living and going to your field in order to look it over, you hear the chatter of monkeys on your way, that is a sure sign that one of your housemates will die (*magtáw*). Does it mean that his spirit left home to wander about in his field and take his rest in the *sízăy* (*magtáw*)? Perhaps.

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Both these offerings must be hung on top of a long pole stuck in the ground somewhere near the *sízăy*. The *Kapónăn*-spirits reign over flowering bamboo grass, which they use for paddy, without ever consuming it: they are much to be dreaded, as they deeply resent the destruction of their property and revenge themselves by causing the culprits to become sick. Now, as almost anybody occasionally cuts down one of these canes in flower, the only way to avoid their wrath is to do as has been told whenever you move into a new *sízăy*-hut.

When you enter your *sízăy* for the first time, especially if you have children with you, hang a small piece of *binaladdibád*-pudding somewhere above the door, as an offering to the tutelary spirits of the hut. Besides, whenever you go to your *sízăy* accompanied by one or more children, take along a little pudding and strew it along the road, lest the little ones become *masi-mát* (sickness caused by spirits); but if you have no youngsters with you, it is not necessary to do this. In case there is no pudding at hand, leave your children at home.

The spirit who takes all huts under his protection, whether they be *sízăy* or *báwi*,[33] is called *Baláwi*: he resides in the mountains, and must be propitiated by the offering of *inapúzăn*, lest the owner of the hut become sick.

An appropriate prayer to go with the offering that is made on the occasion of a new *sízăy* or *báwi*, is the following: it is one of those called *pisi-* (offering), and the text was given me by *Uwil* from Bolo (O dialect, Main branch).

Nénu aníto ta umad-adăyyókăyo kiyá pazag-agiyandnmi (Here is for you, spirits, so that you go away from our dwelling).

Whenever the husband brings home *nízăy* [34] for his family to eat, if the meal takes place in the *sízăy* (not in the house), a small part of each *nízăy* must be thrown away as an offering to the spirits, lest any member of the household present at the time be *mabalsíkăn* (sickness caused by spirits).

The presence of an *arípit*-bird near the *sízăy* is usually disastrous to the owners of the *kómăn*. Indeed, should its cry happen to be heard at that place, while work is being done in the field, whether planting or anything else, the crop will certainly be spoiled; if heard at planting time, nothing will spring up; if later, no rice will be harvested.

[33] Temporary huts built on the ground, not raised on posts, in any place except the rice field.

[34] Living beings caught for food, as fishes, birds, deer, etc., not insects.

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If some stalks of palay at this same stage of growth seem affected by the heat of the sun and threaten to wither and die, plant a *ratúb* in the middle of the field and everything will come out all right. The *ratúb* is a kind of headless *bólo*-bamboo (Schizostachyum mucronatum, Mack.), namely one that was found headless before it was cut, for instance one whose top had been blown off by the wind. 243 789

Should the paddy be very weak and a good many stalks have fallen down already, put some *xánăy* among the latter, so that they will rise again and be able to ear at leisure. The *xánăy* is a sturdy kind of grass that grows in forests and reaches a height of two yards; its leaves are covered with hair and comparatively very broad.

Palay that is overhanging a path along the field, without being protected by a fence, should be kept upright by means of a *săysáy*, which consists of bamboos tied at a convenient height to a few sticks stuck in the ground, at regular intervals, all along the path. The *săysáy* prevents the rice from being spoiled, for instance by being trampled upon by passers-by.

In order to cause the paddy to flower quickly, it is advisable to place *amusabúsa-* in the *kómăn*. This is a grass that grows in the forest and is some fifteen inches tall; its leaves are red underneath, and its inflorescence resembles those of the ditch millet and of the joint grass.

As soon as the ears start flowering, wrap a *pantád* in a piece of cloth, and tie it to the first flowering palay you come across. The *pantád* is a kind of branchless madrepore that must be fetched from the seashore.

When preparing rice pudding at this time of the year,[1] a part of the same should be offered (*písi-*) to the spirits, while reciting the following prayer. The text was given me by *Umilá* from Abbil (O dialect). 782

Ne ma- awámo abulbulón ditálon ta día umad-adamní kiyá ómănko (Here then, this is yours, companion of the jungle fowl, so that you be not approaching my rice field).

The Isneg distinguish four stages of the rice when it is earing, namely: 243 789

Maxabu-sit: "To be pregnant" (also said of animals), when the ears are still covered, but their presence is already clearly apparent.

Maxabótog: when the ears are peeping out, but as yet without spreading.

Nabuyág: when the ears are spreading and ready to flower.

[1] [i.e. weeding time, August — Analyst]

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these are rarely sufficient, as the birds are usually very numerous and they soon get used to what they feared at first. So the only real remedy consists in watching the field and driving the birds away by shouting (*makasáraw*), by throwing missiles at them, by pulling strings that set scarecrows in motion, etc. This is of course a very tedious process and it would take much valuable time, were it not that it can be done by the children, without any trouble on the part of the parents, except that of going now and then to see if the youngsters are not napping. The latter, however, generally enjoy this kind of a job, and get lots of fun out of it, the more so that they usually find leisure to obtain an occasional dainty, either by hunting for it in the near-by forest, or by pilfering it from an adjoining garden. Besides, they are rarely alone, and a group of Isneg boys and girls is never at a loss to find amusement in some kind of game or play, in order to fill up the time between an occasional shout, the throwing of a pebble, or the pulling of a string connected with scarecrows. The latter contrivance is one of the most convenient, as it allows the watchers to lie down, when they grow tired: the only thing for them to do is to attach the end of the string to one of their toes and to move the leg from time to time.

It also happens that the ears of rice are attacked by the *duñgali*, a kind of smut fungus; but fortunately this occurs very rarely and always in rather isolated cases, which is probably due to the Isneg system of farming: fields that are scattered and are never planted with rice twice in succession.

Finally we have the most cunning of all foes, man.

A passer-by may become envious of your splendid crop and, full of spite at your prospective luck, nip (*magbu-sil*) one of the young kernels, without detaching it from its ear. Such a proceeding causes the *kómān* to be ravaged by birds.

Or a woman who has little rice herself, may be coveting yours, and stick some *añrappút*-herbs in your field, pouring coconut oil all around them. In this way she causes your palay to disappear and to be lost to you.

When damage has been done in your rice field by evil spirits, you should go and plant a spear in it, offer *inapúxān* (betel for chewing) and pray:

Italná-ko ya orúñān ta dumálo ya atoná dăyá mañrawát **(I drive the shaft [of a spear] into the ground so that the poison of the destroying spirits gather here).**

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The text of this prayer was given me by *Bǎydán* from Tawit (O dialect, Main branch).

Before finishing this subject, allow me to warn you against the spirit *Darantán*, who throws stones at people who emit a shout when reaping time approaches.

4. HARVESTING RICE AND STORING IN BARNS

The Isneg reap their rice (*maggáni*) some time in November or December. The terms *xáni, xaniyán, maggáni,* are used exclusively for harvesting rice.

There is no special *taximmatón* or sign for harvesting time (*aggaxáni*), as everything depends on the ripening palay, and this can be examined in the field without the help of other indications. Nevertheless it is said by the Isneg that reaping time in general begins with the appearance of the *papparaxáy*[38] or fruit of the *tabbág*-tree (a species of Ficus with fruits growing on the stem and the main branches), but this is only a very vague indication of the time for beginning the harvest, as the fields are not all ready at the same time, so that each particular *kómān* has to be inspected by itself.

Reaping, like planting and weeding, is a woman's job. In other parts of the Mountain Province, the men, although much less dexterous than the women, do not scorn to help the latter in this all-important work; but, in Apayaw, no Isneg worth the name would deign to enter the field with his wife and the girls in order to cut down a single ear of rice.

The reaper cuts off each ear of palay separately with the help of her *ikó*-knife, held in her right hand, and gathers the ears in her left hand, as many as she can clasp. When the cannot grasp any more, she binds (*magbattá-* or *mamtá-*) them into a small bundle (*battá-*) and throws the latter behind her on the ground. The culm is cut some five inches below the neck or junction of ear and stalk: the part of the culm that remains attached to the ear is called *ákaw*, the rest is the *daxámi* (called *daxádag*, as long as it remains on the field).

There are always several women working together; if there are not enough girls in the family, some of the neighbors come to the rescue. The reapers stand in a row, not very far apart from one another, and go on straight ahead. Behind them the bundles of palay are lying

[38] Children use it for a toy by piercing it with a wooden pin and making it spin like a top.

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243 782 415 Then the *sixăy*-hut has to be looked over, and if anything is wanting, it must be brought in. In each *sixăy* there should be a *dapûg* or hearth, with fire (*apúy*), but no taxáñ (three stones for supporting cooking utensils), as no cooking is done there.

A mortar (*altóñ*) and one or more pestles (*alló*) must also be present, but the former may find its place at the outside.

Before the harvest begins, the following objects have to be brought to the *sixăy*:

The *subná-*: a bunch of betel nuts and one of betel leaves (no lime). The *subná-* is put down on the floor of the hut, near the fire, and every day, as long as the harvest lasts, some part of it is used for the *inapúxăn* (betel for chewing) of the spirits.

A *patuxáw*: a large basket (ordinary type: square bottom, round rim) for storing the *xúput* or immature rice and the rest, that has been collected in the *arín*-baskets of the reapers, mentioned above. It is placed near the fire, and people are absolutely forbidden to walk over it, on pain of causing the spirit (*kaduduwá*) [39] of their rice to leave and to go over to someone else's rice. At each meal eaten in this hut, at harvesting time, the Isneg place *inapúxăn* and a few ears of palay in the *patuxáw*. This basket is not removed from the *sixăy* till after the harvest, when the *inapúxăn* it contains is thrown away, and the palay is roasted over the fire, pounded and eaten.

Last but not least, the *aligmamán*. Strictly speaking, the *aligmamán* is a small basket of the ordinary type (square bottom, round rim), and is of daily use for storing betel, lime and so on. In the *sixăy*-hut, however, it is used for storing amulets, and the name *aligmamán* is given to any kind of small basket, whether the *aligmamán* proper or some other one, for instance the *sinalimbáñ*, which is a kind of small fancy basket of different shapes, made from sundry materials, and consequently rather ornate. At the beginning of the harvest, and later on, at any time, as long as palay is being cut in that particular field, amulets are placed in the *aligmamán*, so that very soon there is a whole assortment of them. They may be chosen from the following list:

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Xippaxippáw: A kind of herb placed in the *aligmamán* on the first day, before any reaping has been done.

Karráñ: A leafless plant, mentioned before. A whole basketful of these is placed in the hut on the morning of the first day of the

[39] The same term is used for the spirit of man.

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Takkág líńān or *kaddát líńān* or *kaddát ińáto* (literally: takkag or herb of the spirit Lingan, of the spirit Ingato): A kind of scandent vine, resembling the *takkág*, but with smaller leaves, found in rice fields long since abandoned. 243 789

Talláʼ: A low herb, growing all over the district.

Tańtáń líńān (literally: Lingan's calabash for storing lime): A kind of fungus consisting in a white ball supported by a stipe, and parasitic on the stem of other plants.

Turátud: A kind of herb, some six inches tall, with very narrow leaves about two inches long, growing in rocky places.

Before going to the field to start reaping palay, the women have to *magdaán*, that is, to prepare everything the men need at home: they pound enough rice to last them until the end of the harvest, they gather vegetables for viands, leaves to be used for plates, etc., so that the men will have nothing to do but to cook for themselves and for their families, no real cooking being done in the *síxăy*-hut. 243 462

Here follow the names of most of the spirits who come around at this time of the year:[1] 776 782

Abád: Helps the reapers.

Abalád: *Inapúxān* (betel for chewing) is offered to him.

Aglalannawán: Helps the reapers.

Alipuńdán: Causes the reapers' toes to get sore all over and swell.

Ańáp: Kills people at the time of the harvest.

Ańát: A female spirit helping the reapers. If the women dream about her at night, they will offer her *inapúxān* in the *síxăy*-hut the next day.

Aúrixád: Increases the palay. Women often dreám about him; when they do, he tells them that they will reap nothing, but they know that it is just the contrary.

Arúriń: When the Isneg take their meals, if they fail to give this female spirit a share, they will not harvest anything.

Babalasiínúd: Lives in the *síxăy*-hut.

Bannít: Is angered by the failure of the Isneg to sacrifice a pig at the beginning of the harvest, in which case little rice is raised.

Binu-sílān: Helps the reapers.

Bońós: Is invoked by the shaman and comes at the sacrifice that takes place before the harvest.

Dagdagamiyán (Bayag pronunciation): A female spirit who makes children sick who play where people are busy harvesting.

Dalimdáń: *Inapúxān* is offered to him, lest he come near.

[1] [i.e. harvest time, in December. --Analyst]

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Daramíām: Food is offered to him, by being thrown out through the door, at every meal that is taken in the *sixāy*.

Darupāypāy: Consumes the palay that has been placed in the *sixāy*, before it is transferred to the granary.

Dawilíyān: Helps the reapers.

Dékat: Accompanies the reapers.

Doruwáńaw: *Inapúxān* is offered to him at the beginning of the harvest.

Dumińxíw: Accompanies the reapers, increasing the palay.

Duwakáw: Resides in the rice field.

The *ibańibāń*-spirits: Are invited by the Isneg to accompany them, when they go harvesting.

The *iláńit*-spirits (literally: inhabiting the sky): Help the reapers.

Imbáńon: Helps the reapers.

Inarxāy: Kills people at the time of the harvest. The following prayer is recited, when *inapúxān* is offered to *Inarxāy*. The text was given me by *Daxidí* from Baliwanan (O dialect, Main branch).

Iápugko iyáw inarxāy ta dínaami patpatāy (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, Inargay, so that you do not kill us).

Irixí: Accompanies the reapers, stays in the *sixāy* with them, goes home with them. Whenever the Isneg take a meal in the *sixāy*, as long as the harvest lasts, they offer him rice and viands, by placing them on a plate in the doorway.

Ximbańónān: Helps the reapers. The following two prayers addressed to *Ximbańónān*:

One called *maglappá-*, "to offer food, etc., to the spirits", contributed by *Yadán* from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch):

Ne uwámo ximbańónān umáńnakami sissímān kiyá danní xidxídam (Here, this is yours, Gimbangonan, come to espy us at the fall of the day).

One called *ap-ápug*, with offering of *inapúxān*, contributed by *Lampá* from Dangla (O dialect, Main branch):

Iápugko ikáw ximbańónān bumáńon nam ăy mańán ta umadăyyóka (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, Gimbangonan, arising but eating,[40] so that you go away).[41]

Xinālińán: Helps the reapers.

[40] Who eat whenever you arise.

[41] According to the majority of my informants, *Daxidí*, *Yadán*, etc., Gimbangonan favors the reapers.

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Xinuúdān: Is driven away at the beginning of the harvest, lest he come to measure the receptacles for palay, and the latter dwindle.

Magkáwăy: *Inapúxān* is offered to him.

Magwáŋag: *Inapúxān* is offered to him.

Nappiyá: Spirits living in the rice field.

Palpálad: *Inapúxān* is offered to him.

Punây: Resembles a bird. *Inapúxān* is offered to him at the beginning of the harvest.

Sían: A companion of Pilay, at the time of the harvest.

Sibo: A good spirit; always accompanies the women when they are reaping, rain or sunshine.

Sildádo (from the Spanish *soldado*, "soldier"): Spirits resembling horses. If children play boisterously near the house, these spirits will cause the death of one of them.

Sipa: *Inapúxān* is offered to him in the rice field, on the first day of the harvest.

Sipnút: *Inapúxān* is offered to him, on top of the house ladder, at the beginning of the harvest.

Taxokó: *Inapúxān* is offered to him.

A nameless female spirit living at the *Nanápan* brook, behind the mountains, on the opposite bank of the Apayáw river from Bayag. She counts the palay while wearing a raincoat; as soon as she is approached by any of the people who live there, she disappears.

When everything is in readiness, the Isneg proceed in the following way.

First of all, a pig is sacrificed, while a *dorarákit* or shaman *maxaníto*, "communicates with the spirits". During this ceremony, a leaf of the betel (*zawád*) is torn up and one of its shreds, called *binurían*, is placed near the hearth. One of the animal's legs (*lótub*) is placed in a small *bánia* (earthen pot used for cooking rice, etc.), and the latter is put down on the floor of the granary (*álań*).

The following prayer, whose text was given me by *Uwil* from Bolo (O dialect, Main branch), is one of those that are recited during this sacrifice. The spirit is supposed to pronounce the words through the mouth of the shaman.

Mapáńko pĕ ya dordorerćmān yo maggiyán kadăyó isagaddán,[42] *ta*

[42] Cf. footnote 19 supra. I think that the following free translation of this prayer comes very near to the meaning intended by the Isneg: I come to take my abode amongst you, my faithful people, lest you be bewitched by the other spirits (or: by the Christians).

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243 782 789 *mañsiñta pĕ ña mabalsiān kiyó am-ammowán dăyó ilañitān*[43] *ña isagaddán* (I shall go now to approach residing among the Christians, as we are afraid now to be made sick through the knowledge of the heavenly Christians).

Once this indispensable business has been duly attended to, an old woman, not necessarily a shaman, makes ready to arrange the *pinudóñ*, which will be explained presently. Before leaving the house, she offers rice pudding to the Pilay-spirit who resides on the *páza*-shelf above the hearth, and recites the following prayer, called *pisi-* (offering food, etc. to the spirits):

Ne uwámo ilăy ta batbattuxámmo ya an-anâ-o, uwaámmo ka mabtúgda péyañ (Here, this is yours, Ilay, so that you satiate my children, make that they be always satiated).

The text of this prayer was obtained from *Uwíl*, a Bolo man (O dialect, Main branch).

The same woman also takes a little of the new rice that has been toasted over the fire, and puts it in a small *bakóba-* (a dry calabash used for storing rice). Then she places the latter near the hearth, where it has to remain indefinitely; that rice is never eaten. The calabash with its contents is called *indág*.

In the meanwhile, a man has gone to bar with a *sarañásañ* the path that leads to the *kómān*, in order to warn all passersby not to approach the reapers. This barrier remains from three to five days, after which it is removed together with the taboo. There are two ways of building a *sarañásañ*:

One consists in placing two or three bamboo sticks spaced one above another, across the path.

The other way consists in fixing a single bamboo stick, provided at one end with an ax (*parakól*) and at the other end with a hatchet (*aliwá*), across the path.

At about 5 o'clock in the evening, the old woman proceeds to the field (*mañútud*) taking along the following objects:

A *damázan*, a small basket, round and almost spherical.

A leaf of the *táraw* palm (a fan palm, probably a species of Livistona), that serves for a cover to the *damázan*-basket.

One or more sections of *bulálaw* or *bokáñ* (two varieties of sugar cane).

A bunch of *takkág*-ferns, mentioned before.

[43] *Láñit* means: sky, heaven; *ilâñit*: resident(s) of the sky, heaven, a class of spirits; *ilañitān*: heavenly, beautiful, majestic, etc.

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Some *namandanán* or sea sand, of which a certain amount is always kept in the house. 243

One internode of a *túboń* cane filled with sea sand. The *túboń* resembles the *bassáw* or bamboo grass, but its leaves are larger. 782 789

A few amulets that will be mentioned presently.

After she has arrived in the rice field, she places the *túboń*-internode filled with sand in the *sízăy*, and the *damázan*-basket with its cover and its contents of *takkág*-ferns, together with the sugar cane, behind the *sízăy*-hut. Then she goes to the stalks of rice that grow next to the *sízăy* and sprinkles them with the *namandanán*-sand.

Others, instead of sea sand, use *rabrób*, "sand gathered at the source of a brook"; in which case they wrap it in a piece of cloth, cut one stalk of rice, and tie both cloth and stalk to one of the posts of the *sízăy*.

In other places again, they use a *tupdń*, which consists in the lower section of a *túboń*-reed, whose upper part has been removed by accident, and whose hollow has been filled up with sand without the help of man. This they tie, by means of *takkág*-ferns, to a stalk of palay, together with the other objects that will be mentioned presently.

After the sprinkling of the rice with sand, the woman *mazapaapúg*, that is, she ties one or more of the following amulets to the nearest stalk of palay, at its base, using *takkág*-ferns for bands:

Inapúzăn, never omitted.

A-mám: A kind of hard black lichen growing on wet rocks.

Ańinamáy: A kind of herb. It is used with both palay and maize, and causes them to last long.

Tazimbáńon: A kind of amaranthaceous plant, one yard tall, with dark-brown leaves, red underneath. It is extensively cultivated for ornamental purposes.

In case the woman happens to own more than one rice field, a stalk of palay is provided with *inapúzăn*, *takkág* and the rest, at the corner of each field. After the harvest, the ears of these stalks and the three bundles (*battá-*) that will be mentioned presently, are bound together by means of *takkág*-ferns, and placed in the granary before all other palay. This belongs to Pilay, it is the spirit of the rice; and, whenever an old granary is abandoned for a new one, Pilay's property is transferred to the latter. Even though it may have accumulated into a comparatively large amount, it is never consumed, but always transferred from one granary to another.

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243 782 789 Each of the stalks just mentioned, and also each bundle (*battá-*) made from their ears, are both called *pinudóń*. The same name is also applied to the *damázan*-basket and the rest, behind the *sízăy*-hut. This third variety of *pinudóń* is prepared in the following way:

When the old woman is through with the ceremonies at the first stalk or palay, she harvests three small bundles (*battá-*),[44] and brings them behind the *sízăy*-hut. Here she lays the sugar cane on the ground, and superimposes the *damázan*-basket filled with *takkág*-ferns, among which she has thrust the customary *inapúzăn*. Then she arranges the three bundles of palay around the basket in such a way as to keep the latter in the middle.

I shall give here the names of a few more amulets, some or all of which may be used in this connection:

To be placed in the *damázan*-basket:

A *paggó*, a small brown pebble from the river; never to be omitted. After the harvest, when the palay is transferred to the granary, this *paggá* is put in a small *báńa*-jar, and placed in the granary. The same pebble is used every year for the same purpose, so that it is not necessary to get a fresh one from the river.

Taxalitaw: A plant mentioned before.

To be tied to the first of the three *battá-* (bundles of the *pinudóń*):

An *abatbattúg*-insect wrapped in a piece of cloth. This is a very small brown wingless insect that moves along jumping.

Amsíń: A low herb growing all over the district.

To be tied to, stuck in, or placed on the *pinudóń* (stalk, bundle or palay behind the hut):

Ańńodán: A herb some twelve inches tall, with white-and-blue flowers. When placed on the *pinudóń*, it brings heavy rainfall.

Ammodońán: A creeping herb with small white flowers, growing in the forest.

Ańigáw: A herb some four inches tall, found in forested areas.

Balásań: A kind of herb not growing at Kabugaw.

Dćmăy: A low herb with small leaves, found all over the district.

Inindaggán: A plant, some four inches tall, with five or six red leaves, and flowers hanging down; it grows in dense forests.

Inugldy: A low herb with very small leaves and spiny fruits, growing almost anywhere.

[44] Four *battá-* equal one ordinary bundle or *ćsiń*. One hundred *ćsiń* or four hundred *battá-* equal one *ńópo*.

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Marabatónit: A herb, some five inches tall, with white flowers; it resembles the globe amaranth, but has smaller leaves. 243 782 789

Takkág líńăn: A plant mentioned before.

Tóyug: A very tall herb with white flowers and red fruits, found almost anywhere.

Turátud: A plant mentioned before.

One or more of the following amulets may be placed in the *sixăy*, on the floor:

Labní: A herb, some five inches tall, growing in forests. It increases the palay.

Ambág: A herbaceous vine with white flowers, found all over the district.

Labiyáń: A low herb growing in forested areas.

Besides these, another amulet may be placed at random somewhere in the rice field, namely: the *maradúra-*, which is a herb some six inches tall and grows in forests.

While the old woman offers the *inapúxăn* to the spirits, at the time of the preparation of the *pinudóń*, she recites one or more or the following prayers. The texts were given me by *Lampá* from Dangla (O dialect, Main branch). 243 789

Ne uwám anddyo maggiyán ka tańaluxagtáp ka ńódo (Here, this is yours, Andayo, who reside in the [visible] sky above).

Iápugko ikáw ńilńilá dapán ta umad-adăyyóka (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, Yellow-soled [spirit], so that you be going away):

Iápugko ikáw maggiyán ka íli lixăyan ta dínă- balbalsiánan (I offer betel to you, who reside at the town of Ligayan, so that you do not make us sick).

Iápugko ikáw maggiyán ka laăy ta iddánă- ka bittć- ammăy (I offer betel to you, who reside at Laay, so that you give me a little rice).

Iápugko ikáw alindodóăy umáńmo ipóăy ya sinotónmo ńa ammăy (I offer betel to you, Alindodoay, come and drop the rice you carried on your head).

After the completion of all these ceremonies in the *kóman*, the woman comes back home.

In Apayaw customs differ with regard to the time and the circumstances in which reaping is begun in earnest.

In most places, the Isneg start on the morning following the *pinudóń*-ceremony, and reap palay for about an hour. The next day, they remain in the field until noon; and after that, they stay the entire day: this lasts until all rice has been cut.

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243 782 Elsewhere, they go to the field on the day after the *pinudóń*-ceremony, either in the morning or in the afternoon, and harvest one basketful of palay (*manalégāt*: Bayag pronunciation). But after that, they stay at home for three whole days without repairing to the *kómān*. Then finally they go again (*mamalāńon*), and this time continue the reaping until the whole work is done. The palay of the first basket is not pounded in the regular way, but simply roasted over the fire, and the rice is put in a calabash and placed over the hearth. When the harvest is over, this rice is pounded and eaten just like ordinary rice.

In any case, on the day following the *pinudóń*-ceremony, the reapers take with them to the field a *sípań* (young coconut) and place it in the *sixāy*-hut. This *sípań* must be so young that it could not have formed before the *agtotognó* or time of planting. At Bayag, and only there, if the *sípań* is all too young, the old woman takes it with her on the day of the *pinudóń*; if not, they do as elsewhere and take it with them the next morning.

After the reapers have come home in the evening of the first day (the day following the *pinudóń*-ceremony), the owner of the rice field, the man, takes a coconut and divides it (*magbakká*) with his hatchet, while he pronounces the following words:

To di bakkánnu aníto ta dínu bakkán ólomi (Divide this, spirits, so that you do not divide our heads).

Then they cut out the *aludákid* (a narrow strip of coconut meat mentioned before) or *ludákid* around the edge of one of the halves, bind it into a bundle together with some palay, some charcoal, and a short slender stick cut out of bamboo, and hang it on a cane of *bassáw* or bamboo grass stuck in the ground among the bushes, not far from the house. The whole outfit is called *bāyúbāy* and should prevent the reapers from getting sick. If this ceremony were omitted, there is every reason to believe that some of the women would fall victims to disease.

755 Should it happen that a member of the household, whether a reaper or not, becomes sick at the beginning of the harvest, the Isneg perform the *púpug*-ceremony. A chicken is caught by a shaman; she kills it inside the house and recites the usual prayers; then the meat is consumed by the inmates of the house, both men and women. While the women of the immediate neighborhood, no others, are allowed to be present, all men who do not belong to the house, are strictly forbidden to attend the *púpug*.

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In case you are mourning a member of your household who died at reaping time, you must reserve the *tagăytăy* (Bayag pronunciation) for him, before you begin to harvest your fields in earnest. The *tagăytăy* consists of four very small bundles of palay, not thicker than one's finger, that have to be placed near the *sizăy*, at the outside.

When rice pudding is offered to the spirits at the beginning of the harvest, the following prayers (*pispisi-*) may be recited:

Ne uwámo ńa dadam-án ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, Dadam-an,[45] so that you go away).

Ne uwámo ńa napiyá ńa aníto ta umáńnā- sidúńān (Here, this is yours, good spirit, so that you come under my house [to help me]).

Ne uwámo ńa naggupán ka laxíma ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a *laxíma*-pot[46] for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo naggupán ka rusúd ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a *rusúd*-pot[47] for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo naggupán ka amotó ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use an *amotó*-jar[48] for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo naggupán ka báńa ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a *báńa*-jar[49] for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo naggupán ka xituldán ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a *xituldán*-pot[50] for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo naggupán ka táxo- ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a coconut shell for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo naggupán ka duyát ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a wooden basin for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo naggupán ka dońdóń ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a *dońdóń*-jar[51] for a plate, so that you go away).

[45] *Dadam-án* also means: doorsill. *Dadam-án* here is the spirit who resides at the doorsill, just above the ladder.

[46] The *laxíma* is a small iron pot with a round bottom (not flat), used in the kitchen.

[47] The *rusúd* is a large iron pot with a round bottom, used for boiling the juice of the sugar cane.

[48] The *amotó* is a jar of earthenware, used for holding drinking water.

[49] The *báńa* is a jar of earthenware, used for cooking rice, etc.

[50] The *xituldán* is a rather large iron pot with a round bottom, used for preparing *bási*-beer, etc. The *xituldán* is larger than the *laxíma*, but smaller than the *rusúd*. All three have the same shape; the *laxíma* has a round iron handle, the other two have none.

[51] The *dońdóń* is a large jar of earthenware, used for cooking rice, etc., mostly when there is a feast.

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243 *Ne uwámo naggupán ka bísin ta umadăyyóka* (Here, this is yours, you who use a *bísin*-ornament [52] for a plate, so that you go away).

183 *Ne uwámo battúg ta umadăyyóka* (Here, this is yours, Battug,[53] so that you go away).

Ne uwámo matá taxasinnánnakami (Here, this is yours, sun, look after us).

Ne uwámo ña naggupán ka tariyáw ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a *tariyáw* [54] for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo ña naggupán ka múlat ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a *múlat*-bowl [55] for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo anito kiyá labbáñ taxasinnánnakami (Here, this is yours, spirit in the coconut cut in halves, look after us).

Ne uwámo anito kiyá ápat ta sidúñannakami (Here, this is yours, spirit in the cotton, so that you stay under our house).

Ne uwámo di-rán ta ialátmo kiyá- to xásat (Here, this is yours, Di-ran, so that you show me good luck).

Ne uwámo abuwés ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, Abuwes, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo árān ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, Aran, so that you go away).

These texts were given me by *Băydán* from Tawit (O dialect, Main branch).

243 After all necessary precautions have been taken and all customary ceremonies have been attended to, the women finally begin harvesting in earnest, and stay in the field the whole day. They begin with the *kalaxán*-rice, usually a small field or part of a field of early palay, and continue with the rest, until the last rice has been harvested and brought into the *sixăy*, where it is piled up in one of the corners (*magdalatún*) [56] into a *bañíbáñ* (heap of palay).

The first two or three bundles (*battá-*) that are brought into the *sixăy*, to begin a *bañíbáñ*, are called *tañípan*; the others have no special name.

[52] The *bísin* consists of a combination of beads and pieces of shell of different size and shape, hung from the neck.

[53] *Battúg* also means: satiety. The spirit in question is supposed to eat his fill and so to consume everything or, at least, a large amount.

[54] The *tariyáw* is a plate of earthenware of Chinese origin.

[55] The *múlat* is a large wooden bowl.

[56] To pile up (stones, palay, etc.) in general is: *dugnúkan*.

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243 Generally only one full meal is taken in the *sízăy*, everybody
264 partakes of it, and the following two ceremonies have to be performed
782 every time:

They take three small leaves (any kind) and put a pinch of *pinatúpāt*, placed in the *sízăy* for this purpose, mixed with coconut oil on each of them. The *pinatúpāt* is a block of rice pudding wrapped up in strips of palm leaves. Then the *manúxan* places one of these leaves in the hearth (*dapāg*), one on the palay stored inside (*bañíbāñ*), and one outside, near the ladder. At this juncture the following prayer may be recited. My informant, *Yadán* from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch), called it *maglappá-*, a synonym for *pisi-* (offering food, etc. to the spirits).

Ne kuxámo ilāy paglaxíbannakami maggáni (Here, this is yours, Ilay, watch us harvesting).

For the second ceremony they take several (at least four) leaves of the *balbál*, a small tree with brown bark and leaves resembling those of the cabbage. On each of these leaves they put a little *nabáw* (cooked rice) and a small amount of *láda-* (just mentioned). Then they place one such leaf in the *patuxáw*-basket (containing immature rice, etc.), one on the *bañíbāñ* (heap of palay), one in the hearth, and one in the *damáxan*-basket, at the *pinudóñ*, behind the hut. The one in the hearth, near the fire, is placed there in honor of Pilay, so that he be favorably inclined toward his clients and make them *nadañgán*, "blessed with a rich harvest".

243 Before going on with the description of the activities of the reapers,
784 I shall explain the taboos that have to be observed by them. The reason is that these prohibitions are especially stringent at the beginning of the harvest, the first three or five days, namely all the time the *sarañásañ*-barrier (mentioned before) obstructs the path that leads to the field.

The *manírut*, or reapers who bind palay into *battá-* (bundles), are not allowed to swim, to enter the *baláwa* (place near the house where rice is pounded), to take hold of a hatchet, to eat from a plate or dish (they must use leaves), to eat chicken. These taboos remain in force as long as their work lasts.

Any kind of loud noise is absolutely forbidden in and around the *kómān*. The reason for this and similar taboos is to prevent the spirit (*kaduduwá*) of the rice from becoming frightened and escaping.

Shouting and singing in or around the *kómān* is tabooed, under pain of imminent illness (*masipñúd*).

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The following terms have been heard at Talifugu (Bo dialect):

	Common language	Reapers' cant
Dog:	*áto*	*alíal*
Hog:	*ábuy*	*dinakán*
Chicken:	*anú-*	*kăyabkáb*
Monkey:	*ayóń*	*kilsáp*
Cat:	*kusá*	*lannáń*
To eat:	*mańán*	*mańunág* [50]

This is also the time[1] for proposing riddles (*baníko*), a pastime that is taboo in other seasons. Most of these riddles are stereotyped and well known all over the district, otherwise the solution of some of them would be absolutely impossible, as they consist of words that have become obsolete or that are entirely without meaning. Nevertheless new riddles are always welcome, and so the inventive genius of some of the natives is given much scope.

In order to avoid crowding into this paper too large a number of native texts, I refer the reader to a paper to be published subsequently, in which I give a long list of riddles and of their answers, all of them gathered during my prolonged sojourn in Apayaw.

It is also customary among the natives to set snares (*ilug*) for jungle fowls all around the *kómăn*, at the time of the harvest, when these birds are especially bold. An Isneg never fails to improve the opportunity of getting a few choice morsels at little cost.

Harvest time is the season in which most spirits, good and bad, are abroad, and so the Isneg has a busy time, first to force his protectors to come and help him, and then to propitiate or drive away the evil imps that are intent either on stealing or harming his paddy, his most valued possession, or on playing all kinds of mischief and mean tricks. Besides these, in almost every village, we find one or more dwelling places of special *aníto* (spirits) that have to be remembered at this time of the year. At Dangla, for instance, the reapers never omit to pay their respects to the genius who lives at *Pinazolowăn*, by offering him *inapúxăn* (betel for chewing).

When offering *inapúxăn* to the spirits, at harvesting time, some or all of the following prayers may be recited:

Iápugko ikáw ulát ta umad-adăyyóka kadakamí (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, Famine, so that you be going away from us).

[50] *Maxunóg*, in ordinary language, means: to enter the house.

1 [i.e., at harvest time -- Analyst]

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243 *Iápugko ikáw maggiyán ka dammáń ńa maggupán sinublán magsido-*
772 *ka latóxān umadāyyóka* (I offer betel to you who reside at the other side of the river, who use a *sinublán*-pot [60] for a plate and a *latóxān* [61] for a spoon, go away).

Iápugko ikáw maggiyán ka dammáń magkaw-awíli ańán ta umadāyyóka (I offer betel to you who reside at the other side of the river, who eat everything in one day, so that you go away).

Iápugko ikáw maggiyán ka dóxo masí maxammáyka magkaw-awíli ta umadāyyóka (I offer betel to you who reside at Dogo Masi, who gather your rice in one day, so that you go away).

Iápugko ikáw dummasisi maggiyán ka dóxo masí ta umadāyyóka (I offer betel to you, Dummasisi, who reside at Dogo Masi, so that you go away).

Iápugko ikáw darapāypāy magkímat.ka kímat ammáy umbétka (I offer betel to you, Darapaypay, whose eyelashes are awns of rice, come).

Iápugko ikáw la-lakáy magtottotón a báxat xāyát ta nagkálap ta umadāyyóka (I offer betel to you, old man, who are carrying a banana on the head after having gone to get products from another district, so that you go away).

Iápugko ikáw tarkíray ya magtottotón ka lina-bá ńa ammáy ta lumbétka (I offer betel to you, Tarkiray, who are carrying a *la-bá*-basket full of rice on the head, so that you come).

When the last of the above prayers is recited, and people are eating rice pudding, Pilay must be given a share near the hearth.

All the foregoing texts were given me by *Lampá* from Dangla (O dialect, Main branch).

Yadán from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch) gave me the text of another prayer unaccompanied by the usual offering:

Umáńko pē tagtaxińán ned inalakkán (I come now to sit down with this [rice] I took).

Taxíń means "sitting down in company"; *inalakkán* here means "harvested rice". What follows is a free translation of this prayer, which consists of a statement put in the mouth of a spirit: I come to watch the rice that has been harvested.

[60] The *sinublán* is the same as the *rusúd*. Cf. footnotes 47 and 50.

[61] The *latóxān* is a piece of soft wood, placed under the crusher in a sugar mill, and used for collecting juice.

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Isneg reapers usually provide themselves with amulets, which they place in their *túput* (pouch) tied around the waist. The following are noteworthy:

Leaves of the *banítug*, a kind of forest tree with smooth leaves and white flowers, whose fruits and young leaves are edible. They prevent the bearer from feeling the pangs of hunger.

Katálin: a herbaceous vine with thick leaves, growing on the banks of rivers.

Palamían: a low herb, found almost anywhere.

Other amulets may be placed on the *bańíbāń* (heap of rice) in the *síxăy*:

Aúímăy: A low herb, with small leaves and very hairy fruits, found all over the district.

Basáñal: A creeping herb, mentioned among the amulets of the *aligmamán*-basket.

Binóāg: A low herb with white flowers, growing in forests.

Iput butít (literally: rat's tail): A grass, some two feet tall, probably a species of Setaria,[62] found almost anywhere. It keeps the rats from playing havoc with the palay.

Xippaxippáw: Also mentioned among the *aligmamán* amulets. This herb is placed somewhere in the hearth, before the *bańíbāń* has attained a considerable size.

Panápil: A low herb with round leaves, growing all over the district.

Thorns of the *surni-*, a plant mentioned before. It bears seeds that point downwards (hence its name: "turned the wrong way").

A *tutúxan*, a kind of round red bead, must be placed under the *síxăy*-hut and covered with a stone.

The following amulets prevent the people from consuming a large amount of rice, when taking their meals at harvesting time:

Anampát: A creeping herb growing along brooks. It resembles the Bermuda grass, but its leaves are larger and greener. The Isneg wrap it in a piece of cloth and tie it around the *bakóba-* (calabash for storing *baggát*, "husked rice") or around the neck of a jar that contains the rice.

Tagalobná- (Bayag pronunciation): A herb, some six inches tall, with small leaves, found almost anywhere. This also is placed on the receptacle for rice.

[62] The Italian millet belongs to the same genus.

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remains after pounding) and some *asáp* (husks, what remains after winnowing), and wrap them in a leaf; after they have come home, they hang the latter somewhere in the *baláwa* (place where they pound rice). The same is done when new rice (not *inixúbān*) is winnowed for the first time.

Then we have the *uglây*, which must be set apart before anything else, when *inixúbān* is being prepared for the first time. The *uglây* consists of at least three liters of *inixúbān* that have to be kept for the Pilay who resides in the house, near the hearth. After the harvest, however, human beings consume what the spirit has left.

Husked *inixúbān* that is not consumed immediately, is stored up in calabashes, the ordinary kernels in *bakóba-* (the usual receptacles for husked rice), the broken ones in *busiúgán* (a smaller kind of calabash). The latter must have *takkág*-amulets tied around the neck, and their contents are reserved for children to eat.

The Isneg eat the *inixúbān*[1] (*magdúm* or *manúm*) either with or without viands. Sometimes, especially when children are around, they put back in the mortar a certain amount of *inixúbān*, and pound it until it is reduced to powder; by mixing this flour with coconut meat, a kind of pudding (*limbá-*) is prepared that may be eaten either raw or cooked.

When you have been preparing *inixúbān* for the first time, this is the way to *magdúm* (to eat *inixúbān*): first, eat one mouthful of *inixúbān*, then pronounce the magic word *baríbarī*, and after that continue your meal in the ordinary way.

At this juncture one or both of the following prayers may be recited. The second one must be accompanied by an offering of some of the food (*maglappá-* or *magpísi-*).

Baríbarī di mapalpáli ya kanánmi (Baribari, our food is not easily consumed).

Baríbarī matugtugkíkami maggáni (Baribari, we harvest more and more).

Both texts were given me by *Yadán* from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch).

The preparation of the *inixúbān* does not interfere with the usual routine of the harvest, and the reapers go on with their work until it is finished.

If you foresee that the amount of your palay will be very much smaller than that of other years, so that it will hardly be possible to

[1] [roasted immature rice. -- Analyst]

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call it an *ápit*,[83] have recourse to the following expedient: when you prepare *inapízan*, do not take leaves of the betel pepper (*zawád*), but use young leaves of the *tabbág* (a species of Ficus) instead; this will cause your palay to increase notably.

When all your paddy has been reaped and the *bañíbañ* (heap of palay) in your *sízay* (hut) is complete, so that you are *nadanág* (all your fields having been harvested), you are allowed to eat the *dogdógo* (Bayag pronunciation), which consists of a certain amount of palay that has been left standing near the *sízay*.

The *zañgán* (called *láda* in some districts) or palay that was left standing here and there all over the field, because it was not yet ripe when the reapers came along, may be cut (*tudtúdan, magtudtúd*) later on, as soon as it has matured sufficiently. A part of the *zañgán*, however, must be abandoned to animals and spirits; to cut it all, is tabooed.

As soon as the harvest is over, a new set of spirits come on the scene: these are principally the *Daraxámi*, who knock on the *sízay*-hut at night, when people are sleeping inside, so that the latter very often dream about them. Then there is *Maxablây* or *Xinablây*, who is fond of killing people at this time. An appropriate prayer to forestall the latter's machinations is the following. Its text was given me by *Daxidí* from Baliwanan (O dialect, Main branch).

Iápugko ayáw zinablây ta dínaami al-aluwây (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, Ginablay, so that you do not cut off any part of our body).

At this time of the year, the Isneg usually offer (*magpísi-*) food or *inapízan* to those spirits that are most likely to exert some influence over them, whether for good or for evil. When such an offering is made at home, in the village, one or more of the following prayers may be recited:

Iápugko adaáyó idammáñ ta dídaami umáñ sidsidúññan (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, our enemies, so that you do not come under our house).

Iápugko adaáyó abulbulón magkálap ta dínaami tagtagónoñán (I offer betel to you, companions of those that get products from another district, so that you do not reduce our sustenance).

Iápugko adaáyó ña aníto ta tagapóliyánnu nídi an-aná- ta masáyánkami no pagbíli ni uyína (I offer betel to you, spirits, so that

[83] The *ápit* is the amount of rice or of Indian corn that is reaped in one season, provided it be abundant; if scanty, it is never called an *ápit*.

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you forgive this child here, so that we be lessened when Ugina [64] wants us to make an offering).

Iápugko adaăyó ńa maggupán ka zituldán nagírāb ka alatógān (I offer betel to you, who use a *zituldán*-pot [65] for a plate, and scrape out food with an *alatógān*.[66]

All four of these texts were given me by *Umílá* from Abbil (O dialect).

When the *bańíbāń* (heap of palay) in the *sízăy*-hut is complete, a day is set apart for binding (*mamońó*) the *battá-* (bundles) of palay into *ésiń*, and for counting (*magkabókab*) the latter. Four *battá-* make one *ésiń* (*tańésiń*); one hundred *ésiń* make one *ńópo* (*mópo*).

Therefore some time between the last day of the regular harvest and the day of the *pońó* (binding) and the *kabókab* (counting), the Isneg gather young bamboos (*mańalipońó*) and cut them into bands for tying the *battá-* into *ésiń*.

On the day set apart for binding and counting, the Isneg, men and women, start for the field very early in the morning, at cockcrow. Once there, one of the men sticks a spear in the ground, not far from the door of the *sízăy*-hut, and then all enter and commence the work, accompanied by the spirit *Guyéyāp*, who helps them in counting.

First of all, four *battá-* are taken from the *bańíbāń* and bound (*mamońó*) into an *ésiń*; then the tips of the straw of this *ésiń* are cut away (*magpagpág, pagpaggán*) with a hatchet, so that the straw of the bundle on top forms a smooth and even surface: all of which is performed by men. After that, one of the men takes hold of the bundle (*ésiń*), closes his eyes (*melagmiyá*), and goes outside to a place at some distance away from the *sízăy*, where he puts down the *ésiń*, without ever opening his eyes. Once rid of the bundle, he is allowed to open his eyes and find his way back. This *ésiń* is counted (*magkabókab*): one; it constitutes the first bundle (*ésiń*) of the *dattó* or row of counted *ésiń*. Treading on or passing over the *dattó* is absolutely forbidden: the Pilay punish all trespassers with fever (*daggáń*).

As soon as the first bundle has been attended to, the work goes on normally, all eyes open: the men bind (*mamońó*) the *battá-* into *ésiń* and cut off the tips of the straw (*magpagpág*) inside the hut, then they

[64] A spirit.

[65] Cf. footnote 50.

[66] This is the same as the *latázān* of footnote 61.

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hand the new bundles (*ésiń*) one by one to the women who are standing outside and who add them to the rest of the *dattó* (row); at the same time, these women keep track of the number of *ésiń*, calling out the new total after each addition.

In the afternoon, before going home, the workers pile up the *ésiń*-bundles into a *dattó* in a corner of the *sízăy*. The *dattó* (heap of counted *ésiń*) now replaces the *bańíbăń* (heap of uncounted *battó*-). Then they stick *inapúzăn* on one of the barbs of the spear in front of the hut, pushing it upwards from the tip of the barb.

The next morning, early or late, they continue the work and, at the end of the day's work, bring the spear back home. From now on, binding and counting goes on without interruption until everything is finished. In some rare instances, this job is concluded in one day, in which case, of course, the spear is taken home in the evening of the same day.

While the work is in progress, a small amount of very fine soil (*dibdibú*-), for instance that of an ant's nest, is wrapped in a piece of cloth and placed somewhere in the center of the *dattó* (in the *sízăy*), in order to prevent insects from destroying the palay heaped up there.

At this time it is the duty of every farmer to give to each of his neighbors two *ésiń* of palay, lest everything go wrong. This gift, called *píńil*, is a mere ceremony and has little or no practical value, as it is a mutual one and everybody has to reciprocate to the same amount.

In some districts, after the palay has been placed in rows outside the *sízăy* and counted, the Isneg immediately transfer all the bundles to the granary. But that is rather exceptional; in most places they proceed in the following way:

Once the *dattó* (heap of *ésiń*-bundles) is complete, the owners of the palay *lumpút*, which means: they stay at home for from one to three days, without returning to the hut. Should anybody infringe this taboo, and remain in or near the *sízăy* or go there after he has left, he is said to be enticed by the spirit *Daraxád*, the assistant of the *Daraxámi* mentioned before, and the poor man is liable to be devoured on the spot by these unearthly cannibals.

On one of those days, the owner of the house must sacrifice (*mamanít*) either a pig only or both a pig and a dog, without *maxaníto* (a shaman's communication with the spirits). The animals are killed somewhere near the granary, and their heads beaten against the building before they are severed from their bodies; then the victims

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(*pamanít*) are brought into the house and cut up. This sacrifice guarantees a plentiful harvest for the next year. In some districts, however, it is not offered by everybody indiscriminately, but only by those who have found out, after the counting, that the number of their bundles falls short of the crop they have been used to up till now, and consequently that it will be far from sufficient to last them until the next harvest.

When the days of forced absence from the *sízăy* are over, the palay is transferred in triumph to the *álań* or granary. If the real *álań* cannot be made ready in time, or if it is too small to harbor the whole crop, a *sipí* must be prepared beforehand. The *sipí* is a little hut made of light materials (bamboo, grass, etc.), more or less box-shaped, raised on posts, and covered with a lean-to roof.

In some villages, at Tawit for instance, only the inmates of the owner's house, men and women, are allowed to make this transfer. In others, all neighbors, men and women, may be invited to join; but this happens only, of course, when the palay is very abundant.

When all carriers have reached the *sízăy*, the *dattó* of palay is demolished, the bundles (*ésiń*) being brought outside and put in rows, and everybody prepares his or her load. It should be noted in this connection that the prohibition with reference to trampling on or passing over the *dattó* has never been suspended.

At the same time the Isneg collect all the amulets (*mamaldúń*) that have been placed at the *sízăy*, inside or outside, whether in the *aligmamán*-basket or over the *bańíbāń* and the *dattó*, and wrap them in a piece of cloth. This package will find its place in the granary together with the palay.

Detached grains and spikelets (*pannár* or *rannâ*) [67] that remain in and under the *sízăy* and at the place outside the hut, where the palay has been counted and where the loads have been prepared, will be gathered later on, pounded, cooked and consumed by old men and women. If young people eat them, they grow old in no time. This restriction does not apply to the *rannâ* of the granary.

Women place their load of palay in large baskets (*rańáy*, *rańáya* or *baló-*: ordinary type, round rim, square bottom),[68] which they carry on their heads (*magtotón*). Men tie on equal number of bundles to

[67] The latter term is also applied to the detached grains and spikelets that are found in and under the granary.

[68] Also used for carrying tobacco, Indian corn, etc.

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243 482 each end a pole (*isíw*),[69] which they carry on their shoulders (*maŋagtó*).

Before starting on their journey, the carriers insert a few *dáriŋ*-herbs in the straw of their load of palay, in order to keep them from all 243 harm. This is not a vain precaution, as there is at least one of the 782 numerous evil spirits in existence, namely *Nasígu*, who is especially 789 fond of annoying people who carry rice from the *síxăy* to the *álaŋ* (granary). If he finds them unprotected, he gives them a thrashing by means of a stick which he is always carrying.

As soon as they arrive at the place of the granary (*álaŋ*), the women empty their baskets and the men untie their loads, after which all bundles are piled up under the granary (*magdaligpăn*).

Before the Isneg store their palay in the granary (*magpintá-*), they attend to the following:

Besides a few objects that ultimately find their place in the granary, as the *pinudóŋ*, the amulets taken from the *síxăy*, etc., and that have been mentioned before, they put inside:

Amintakkán (from *pintá-*, "storing palay in the granary"): A low herb with very small leaves. It is placed on the floor of the granary.

Daraará-: A vine mentioned before among the amulets of the *aligmamán*-basket in the *síxăy*-hut.

Inŏd: A kind of herb. It is tied around one of the posts, inside the granary.

Pannó (literally: fullness, filling), mentioned before among the amulets of uncut paddy. This amulet causes the granary to be filled with rice.

The *pamintakkán* (from *pintá-*, "storing palay in the granary"): The *pamintakkán* is a *battá-* (one fourth of an *ćsiŋ*) and the first of the rice just brought in that is introduced into the granary. It is provided with *takkág*-vines (schizaeaceous ferns, often mentioned before) and *tagaúrabón* (called *tagarabŏn* at Bayag), which is a kind of herb, some twelve inches tall, with very small leaves and white flowers, that grows in rocky places, along rivers and brooks, and prevents the rice from being consumed quickly. The *pamintakkán* is placed in one of the two corners of the granary that are farthest away from the door.

When the time has come for storing the palay in the granary, the owner, the man, climbs inside, and his wife, standing outside, hands

[69] A pole used for carrying loads between two persons is called *búlig*.

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him the bundles. Nobody else is allowed either to hand it in or to pile it up inside.

In a few places, however, either one of them, the woman or her husband, enters the granary, and anybody is permitted to handle the bundles outside; but the person who started piling the palay inside, must continue the work until it is concluded: nobody else is allowed to interfere.

When *inapázān* is offered to the spirits at this time, the following prayers may be recited:

Iápugko iáw iwaxán ta umáńnā- sidúńān (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, Iwagan, so that you come under my house).

Iápugko iáw zinadúlan ta umáinā- taxasinnán (I offer betel to you, Ginadulan, so that you come to look after me).

Iápugko iáw pilāy ta umańńā- pańitagtagkélāy ka ammáy dató adú wa ammáy (I offer betel to you, Pilay, so that you, limping, bring me rice from the large heaps of rice).[70]

Iápugko iáw duńgali ta umáńnā- pagpili kadató ammáy atoní (I offer betel to you, Dunggali, so that you come to let me choose from the large heaps of rice there).

Iápugko iáw paluggatáń ta abulonánnaami (I offer betel to you, Paluggatang, so that you be our companion).

Iápugko iáw ańlabbáń ta tardyannā- ka ballán (I offer betel to you, Anglabbang, so that you prop me up with palma brava timber).

Iápugko iáw bákat ta ipa-bágmo to sóńān[71] (I offer betel to you, Bekat, so that you give me[72] tuskers).

Iápugko iáw da-nág ta bakkámmo ta-bán dāyó álig (I offer betel to you, Da-nag, so that you do not cover the *álig*-bees).

My informant, *Bāydán* from Tawit (O dialect, Main branch), told me that these eight prayers were pronounced consecutively when storing rice in the granary, when cutting off the head of a dog in sacrifices, etc. The last three, however, and perhaps a couple of others, seem to have nothing to do with the rice crop.

The Isneg always tie some *takkág* (schizaeaceaus ferns) around the *lappó* (literally: thigh) or thick part of one of the four posts of the granary, below the floor, in order to increase the palay stored up there.

[70] Rice you stole from those that have much rice.

[71] *Asóń* means: tusk of wild boar.

[72] In answer to my prayer. *Ipa-bág* from *tabbág*, "answering".

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243 There are a few other amulets that may be placed on the palay in the granary, at any time:

Aggassip: A low herb with white flowers, found all over the district. It causes the rice to last long.

Amagpaggôû: A herb, some twelve inches tall, with small leaves, growing in forests.

Anaxupgâ: A herb, some twelve inches tall, with small leaves, red flowers and brown fruits. It is found in the forest and, placed in the granary, helps the owners to economize their rice.

Anûyug: A herb, some eight inches tall, growing in forested areas.

Indâg: A low herb, found almost anywhere.

Rakkâd: A herb, growing all over the district.

When all the rice has been garnered, a small *bâña*-jar containing rice pudding is placed in the filled *âlaû* (granary), as an offering to Pilay. It is called *túxan*, the same name as that of the food brought to the reapers by a man (*manúxan*) from the village.

Finally the Isneg close the door of the granary and provide it with *takkâg*-ferns and *adâs*-sedges (Scleria sp.), at the outside.

III. The Isneg Garden

241 The garden or *kadánan* is a plot of ground where some time in the past rice has been grown. No garden plants are raised on virgin soil; rice always precedes them. Sometimes the *kadánan* has already served that purpose for one or more years, sometimes it is merely a *kómān* or part of a *kómān* from which rice has just been harvested.

Except for the necessity of having palay precede all other plants, the possibility or probability of raising successfully some special kind of plant on a given plot of ground is the only determinant for the choice of a garden plot. The Isneg merely studies the nature of the soil and its adaptability to the growing of certain products, according to his own experience or that of his elders.

The Isneg garden is always surrounded by a fence, either the usual one (*tabût*) or, in case the man is too lazy to make a regular fence, the *balakkawit* (strips of bamboo stuck in the ground at both ends so as to form a series of arches).

To prepare a garden, the first thing to be done is to clear the ground (*mañadánan*). When the garden is built on level ground, this work is called *maxónut*, just as in the case of a *kómān*. If the garden is new, that is, if it is made from a rice field that has just been harvested, the bulk of the weeds consists of *daxádag* (ricé straw) or *sápi* (after-

to pay heavy indemnities to the relatives of the injured husband. When the husband is so inclined, he may take one or more wives, provided that he is wealthy enough to support them. However, the wife controls in marriage, her own inherited property.

When the husband dies, the woman retains only her clothing and returns to her relatives. All the property is divided equally among the children. If they are young, the man's relatives take and raise them, keeping the property in trust. Upon marriage each child receives his share.

RELIGION

The Apayao name for a god is "*anito*." Now, it is hard for anyone to explain how all the "acts of God" are the activity of one single personality; as some "acts" are benevolent and others are malevolent. The Apayaos believe that different "acts" are the doings of differents *anitos*, some benevolent and others malevolent. Natural phenomena are explained as being the work of some *anito*. Each occurrence or activity of a person is governed by some certain *anito*. Therefore they may number up into the thousands. Thus one is constantly aware of his relations with the *anitos*, and the Apayao is very religious. For instance if he is setting a trap for wild pig in the forest, he will ask one *anito* to forgive him for trying to trap the pig; another *anito* to let the pig be guided into the trap; and another *anito* that the trap will spring and catch the pig.

Many *anitos* live in natural objects; but the most prominent ones dwlel in *Guynetban* in the sky. Each

776 [824] The *Danag* live in trees and act like fairies. If a tree is cut down and it does not fall, a *Danag* inhabits that tree. *Danags* enjoy playing practical jokes. If something awkard happens on the way, a *Danag* did it. Or sometimes, when some priestess is calling her *anito*, a *Danag* will show up instead.

782 The usual method used to gain the favor or help of an anito is to give him a feast. This may vary in name, size, details, and extent, according to the occa-
796 sion and wealth of the party who gives the feast. The
574 general procedure; however, at a feast is about as follows:

[791] The relatives and family giving the feast gather in the house one evening while the priestess, *durarakit*, performs a ceremony in which she calls the suitable *anito* and invites it to enjoy the feast. She spreads a mat near the door, places on it a bundle of unthreshed rice, some *buyo*, with possibly other articles, and ties a small chicken near by. The priestess stands on the mat and, to the cadence of the drum and bronze gongs, side shuffles her feet and waves her extended arms, at the same time calling in an old chant for the *anito* to come to the feast. In a few minutes her eyes dilate and she begins to tremble in a trance. The *anito* has come. She continues talking to it, telling it to be happy and to please help as desired. After a while she comes out of her trance and starts placing *buyo* with leaves and lime, together with grass bundles, on the jars of *basi* and on the animals which are to be killed. (Dogs and pigs are eaten only at feasts.) The *durarakit* performs this that there may be peace at the feast.

In the morning the family prepares the food for the guests. The men butcher the dog, chickens, and pigs. They might go out and get a wild pig or two. The women cook the rice, vegetables and meat. Boys carry invitations to the houses of the guests, who begin to arrive about noon, all dressed up in their best clothes.

When a guest arrives, he is given a drink of *basi* and also food, if he is hungry. Individual servings of rice, together with some meat and vegetables, are wrapped up in sections of bamboo leaf and passed around. One package of food is placed for the family *anito* under the sacred big tree or bamboo clump where it lives, and where it is the custom to hang the heads taken by the family warriors. As the various animals are killed, a little of the blood and liver are placed in a coconut shell or a section of bamboo and hung up for the *anito* of the feast. That is his share. The people eat the rest for him. Also *runo* leaves are hung from a rafter above the stove, one for each pig killed.

Dancing, *talip*, in the house starts early in the afternoon. The intriguing music is supplied by the women, who beat a staccato rhythm on three instruments: the *ludog*, a drum fashioned of a hollowed log with a skin secured over one end; a large, shallow curved-bottomed kettle-shaped bronze gong; and the *ganza*, a smaller, flat-bottomed bronze gong. Each has its own tone (base, soprano, alto) and beat; while the notes are short: quarter, eighth, and sixteenth. Thus the rhythm is fast and intricate: hard to follow. One couple dances at a time. One of the family hands a special cloth to an honored guest. He starts walk-

Do not jump over a child. If you do, his growth will be retarded. 784

At first glance one might think that life in Apayao is greatly restricted by the necessity of placating all the *anitos* and of observing the many auguries, omens, and prohibitions. But, after being around some, I cannot help getting the impression somehow, that all this is partly just the men's sly way to getting out of a lot of hard work and disagreeable duties. At least, the placating of the *anitos* gives them the occasion for many very pleasant social times. 771 784 787 789 781

BURIAL

When death comes, the Apayaos, unlike the Christians, do not dread it as being the end of life on this earth; for the spirit *cadudorosa*, continues to exist somewhere and enjoy many of their physical pleasures without the discomforts. The people respect these spirits and go to great pains to see that they are made happy, both during the funeral ceremony and also during the following years. At all the feasts a portion of the best food and *basi* is placed on a plate, which is then set near the stove where the immediate supply of rice is kept. The people want to keep the spirits of their ancestors happy and contented for, if one should become discontented, he will select a person in the house to keep him company. The person then becomes sick and will die if a feast is not held to make that spirt happy and contented again. 761 775 769 [753]

When a person dies, all the relatives immediately gather in his house and hold a *callas* in his memory. 764

couple. Nothing but joy was displayed in that fare- 726
well party to the departing warriors.

With glittering spears, *gaods*, and shields paint- 726 782
ed red and black, they started for Nagcolman. But soon they must stop for a while at the sacred tree to have their prayers said there; because their guiding *anito* dwelt in that tree. After the prayers, they rose into the air and were soon out of sight. Shortly afterward they were seen in Sagian, a place overlooking Nagcolman. There they must make a generous offering of betel nut to Balaniban, the *anito* in Sagian. The betel nut had to be offered on a shining *aliwa*. Had they failed to do so, Balaniban must deceive them.

The direction to Nagcolman was then determined, 000
and they vanished into the air; thus arriving by the riverside of their objective. Imlang, the youngest brother and the most handsome, proceeded directly to a certain house in Nagcolman, while the rest stopped at the riverside. Imlang's going to that house was contrary to the brothers' plan; for he himself desired to find a very charming lady who was hidden in the chimney of the house. A great feast was being held there when the invaders arrived; but their arrival was still unknown. Imlang vanished from his seat in the house unnoticed by the people. He was with the fair lady, Naglalanaoan, in the chimney, obtaining her love. No difficulty was offered him in winning the love of [892] the acknowledged belle of the *barangay*. He came to know her by enchantment.

Thereupon, Imlang and his expected bride, as well as the invaders still by the river, prayed that all that was being used in the feast must be brought by en-

000 So the next morning he told his wife that he was going to the forest to look for some more honey. He then left his wife, saying that he would be back late in the afternoon. At noon, while he was in the forest, he heard the loud noise of many monkeys. He crept slowly toward them and hid himself behind a tree. He saw a big band of monkeys. Some of them were white. He watched carefully to see what the monkeys were doing.

He saw two big monkeys sitting near a large jar. One was distributing *basi* from the jar to his companions, and the other was sitting facing his companions. They had two little coconut bowls which they used in drinking the *basi*. They kept on drinking the *basi* until all the monkeys were drunk. The man rushed toward the jar and carried it away from the monkeys. He brought the jar home and placed it in yard of his house.

787 He was so tired that he did not eat his supper
● 782 before sleeping. While he was sleeping he had another dream. He dreamt that he must not keep the jar without butchering a white-spotted pig, a dog spotted with white, and a chicken likewise marked. If this was not done, surely he would die.

This was done thru the help of his relatives. The priestess made a prayer, and a feast was held in honor of the jar. All the relatives and neighbors came to see the jar. They named it "Ayong." Now it is handed down from generation to generation. This jar now is in the possession of the head man, Pugyao, in Cabacnan.